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MECHANISMS IN MIGRATION

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HOW PEOPLE MOVE : THE ROLE OF SUPPORT
MECHANISMS IN MIGRATION

Susan Caldwell

Thesis submitted to the University of Warwick for the degree of Ph.d.

Department of Sociology

September, 1991

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PP

ABSTRACT

Chapter 1 introduces the thesis and outlines the research 'problem'. It goes on to discuss various problems of definition and provides some economic and social background to the Coventry TTWA. The need to study the process of migration is emphasised.

Chapter 2 summarises the methodology adopted. It discusses various possible research strategies and outlines in detail the one adopted.

Chapter 3 provides data about the whole survey groups, those who stayed in the Coventry TTWA area ('stayers') and those who moved ('movers'). It draws some comparison between the two groups.

Chapter 4 examines the role of the family in the migration process. It outlines a view that gives kin a central role and contrasts this with survey data. An alternative view is put forward.

Chapter 5 considers the role of education. It shows how private and state schools prepare school students for migrating as part of their educational careers. It continues by emphasising the importance of education as a channel for migration.

Chapter 6 looks at employment and challenges the classic 'push-pull' labour market theory of migration by emphasising the highly uneven and segmented nature of the labour market and the importance of support factors in migration decision making.

Chapter 7 discusses marriage and emphasises the importance of gender in determining migration decisions reflected in the tendency for women to follow men. However, it illustrates the actor role of women within this process and the role of marriage in facilitating, and on occasion hindering, migration.

Chapter 8 summarises the main conclusions of the research and draws out some key implications for social policy and for further research.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is based on a study of internal migration[1] in the United Kingdom. It focussed on a relatively young group of women and men originating from the Coventry Travel to Work Area (TTWA)[2]. The research enquiry has addressed issues concerning social and economic influences in migration and their inter-relationship. In order to understand some of the complexities of the migration process the research considered three substantive questions; why do people move? how do people move? what are the kinds of influences in the migration decision? This approach provided some understanding of the migration process and how far decisions are economically determined and how far social factors influence migration.

The results of the research presented here show that migration is a more complex process than economic approaches suggest. Essentially, an economic approach closely connects migration with the operation of labour markets. Individuals move either to maintain their or improve their economic position. For example movement takes place where there is unemployment or few

employment opportunities or where individuals seek higher wages or as part of a career progression. Instead migration is shown to be stimulated by a range of factors, even where, as occurred in this study, the locality's economic background is in crisis. Motives for migration are better understood within a life-cycle or life course approach. In addition to moving for employment related reasons, respondents also moved to enter higher education, they moved on marriage, and they moved within marriage. Similarly, the migration decisions people arrived at were subject to a variety of influences and not restricted to economic considerations. Often social factors were more important in making a migration decision. Most importantly, where migrants left the area, and on subsequent migrations moves, these moves have tended to be made within structures; that is, the move has been facilitated where support mechanisms were present. For example, people moved as part of education) marriage and employment. In each case the person moved to a new area in which they had accommodation and a source of income.

The remainder of this chapter presents an outline of change occurring in the Coventry area. This provides useful information about the economic context from which the sample group and their families was drawn, and enables employment to be considered as an

explanation for their outmigration. However, it is argued that economic reasons do not adequately explain why people move or how migration decisions are made, firstly, as outmigrants from the area of origin, then secondly on their subsequent migrations. Instead, a better explanation is given within a life-cycle approach. This chapter then introduces the important role of information and support mechanisms as ways of understanding how people move. Chapter Two presents a detailed analysis of the methodology employed for the research and of some of the problems experienced in undertaking a study of this kind. These include problems in the use of statistics, problems associated with different geographical and administrative boundaries, and problems in defining migration. It discusses how the research was conducted and the importance of a qualitative methodological approach.

In Chapter Three the results of the two 'first phase' surveys of people leaving the area ('movers') and those who still live in the Coventry area ('stayers') are presented. The chapter presents an outline of employment experiences and draws out salient economic characteristics. Also, in a limited way, a comparison is made between the two groups. Many of the respondents are shown to have left the area for non-employment reasons.

The remaining chapters, (Four to Seven) consider how people have moved and the factors which have been

influential in their migration decisions. These chapters are based on the experiences of a selected sub-sample of outmigrants. In each particular context (Family, Education, Employment, and Marriage) the presence of support mechanisms is shown to be important.

The research problem

The initial focus for this research enquiry was outmigration; it was concerned to establish the extent to which outmigration from a West Midland area was employment related. The area, the Coventry TTWA had recently experienced both decline in employment opportunities and in its population after previous decades of growth. Additionally, the enquiry aimed to explore the migration process, to understand more about the experience of migration, especially migration decision making. In other words it specifically addressed questions about why people moved and how they moved.

The reason for adopting an employment focus to the enquiry was primarily connected with the commonly attributed relationship between an area's employment growth and labour mobility (for example Richardson 1972, Lancaster & Mason 1986, Spencer et al 1986, Healey

and Roberts 1985). Coventry's industrial growth, which is described below, has been shown to have led to substantial immigration during the twentieth century

Coventry has a long association with manufacturing. In the 20th century, manufacturing has been based on bicycles, motor vehicles (including motorbikes, cars, armoured vehicles, tractors), aircraft, engineering (especially machine tools), electrical goods, and artificial fibres. (Newbold 1974, Richardson 1972, Friedman 1977). Increasingly, production has concentrated in five areas: vehicles, aircraft, mechanical and electrical engineering, and artificial fibres. According to the Coventry/CBI Special Report (1983), in 1966, 63% (133,000) of all jobs in Coventry were in manufacturing.

In the immediate post-war period there were plenty of employment opportunities in these manufacturing areas. Between 1951 and 1966 employment grew from 161,000 to approximately 211,000 (Economic Unit 1983). Of these, over 52,000 people were employed in the motor vehicle sector.

TABLE 1
Coventry's Top Ten Manufacturing Firms 1975

Rank	Firm	Employees
1	British Leyland (cars)	27,258
2	G.E.C. (electrical/commun)	16,166
3	Talbot (now Peugeot, formerly Chrysler) (cars)	12,537
4	Rolls Royce (marine/aero)	8,307
5	Massey Ferguson (tractor)	6,014
6	Dunlop (aero/vehicle comp)	5,749
7	Courtaulds (fibre/textiles)	3,786
8	A. Herbert (machine tool)	3,469
9	A.E. (car components)	2,679
10	John Brown (machine tool)	2,195

source: 1982 Industry Survey: largest manufacturing firms. (Economic Unit, Coventry)

Unemployment was negligible during this same period and significantly lower than national levels, as Table 4 below shows. In 1950, the overall level was approximately 0.5%, and remained at below 1% in 1966. These figures represented 40% of the national rate between 1950 and 1955, and 75% of the national rate for period 1956 to 1966. (Economic Unit 1983).

The travel to work area [3] for Coventry is much broader than the city's administrative boundary. Though it includes semi-rural areas, it also includes other, predominantly urban industrial, areas. Principal towns include Nuneaton, Bedworth, and parts of Hinckley Borough. Manufacturing is important in these towns also and includes metal engineering and textiles in Nuneaton and boot and shoe manufacture, textile and hosiery in Hinckley. Mining is also important in the area to the north of Coventry. The

extent to which manufacturing employment is important within the TTWA is confirmed in Table 2.

TABLE 2.

Area Residents

Industrial Sector employment 1971 (10% sample)

locality	[percentages]					total number
	Agric.	energy & water	manfg.	const.	service	
Coventry	0.01	0.8	57.8	3.7	36.8	*153,55
Nuneaton & Bedworth	0.48	6.5	54.9	3.9	33.7	*49,66

* the table omits a category of 'unspecified'.
Source: 1971. Census Ward Library.

Service sector employment growth has been limited. The main area of service sector growth has tended to be in local government, education and the medical services (Thoms and Donnelly, 1986). Growth in the service sector, especially during the 1970's, has been linked to the demand created by the parallel increase in manufacturing employment and population increase [4].

Labour required for manufacturing production has reflected those industries' changing needs and production methods. Although employment in manufacturing is made up of a range of occupational skills, mass production tends to require mass labour, in other words, manual labour. As Table 3 shows that this is reflected in the population's socio-economic structure.

TABLE 3
Residents by Occupational Group 1971.
(percentages)

locality	Prof.	Other	Skilled & Non-Man. Semi-sk.	Unsk.	Armed F	Number
Coventry	9.7	27.9	54.6	6.9	0.9	*153,55
Nuneaton & Bedworth	9.0	6.8	62.1	7.1	0.7	*49,66

*Category of 'unspecified' omitted from table

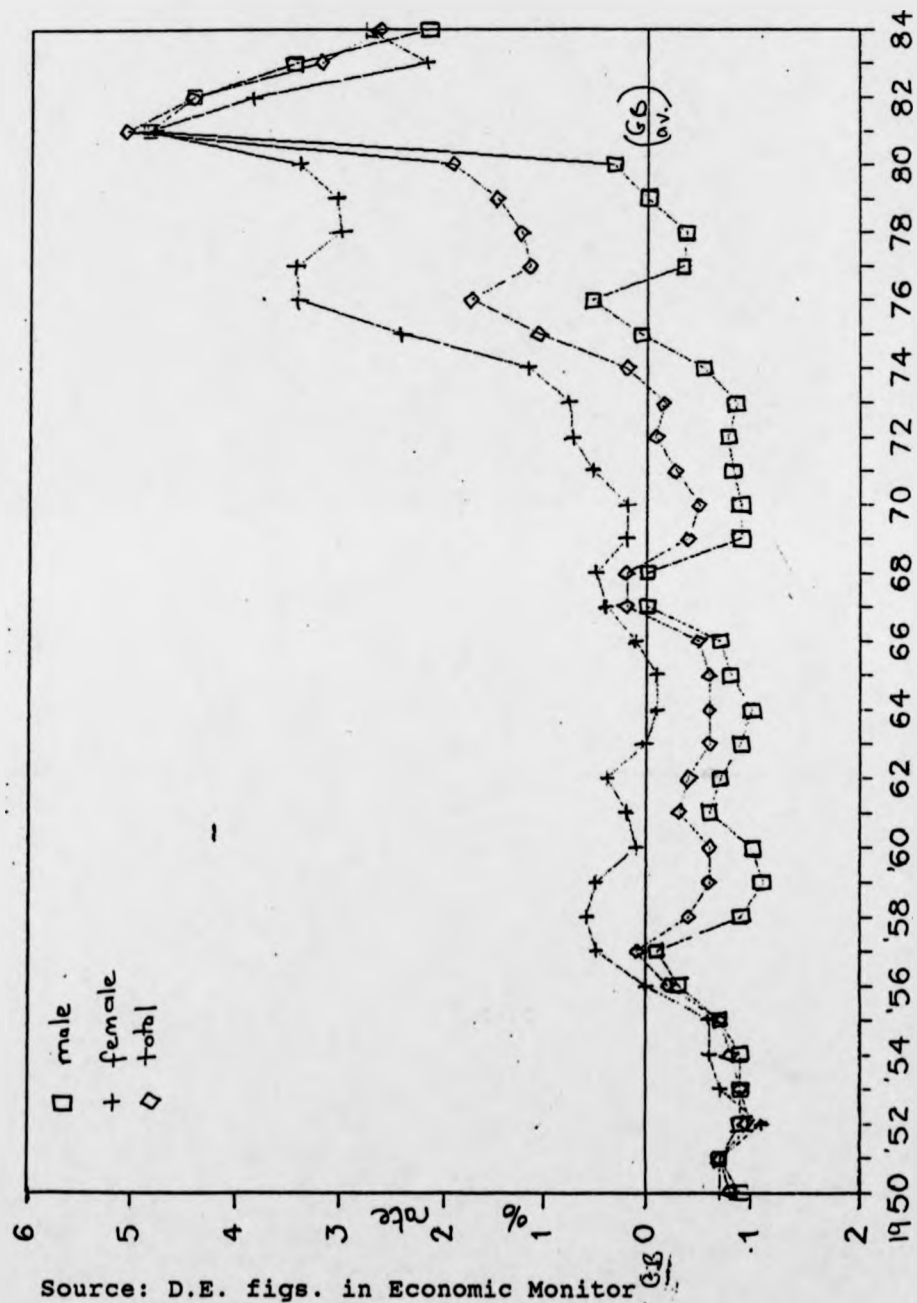
Source: Warwickshire Planning Dept. (Ward Census 1981)

The extent to which employment expanded in the 20th century is reflected in Coventry's population growth. Until the 1970's, the city's growth was at a faster rate this century than any other city (Newbold 1974). Its numbers increased almost five-fold in seventy years, from almost 70,000 in 1901, to 335,000 in 1971. Moreover, the pace of population growth accelerated from 1941 (Newbold). Much of this increase can be attributed to inward migration. For example, by 1951 65-70% of the population was born elsewhere Lancaster (1986).

Inmigrants to Coventry, as elsewhere, have tended to be young and predominantly male. This can be explained by the area's production and employment opportunities. Inmigrants have come from many areas, for example Lancaster and Newbold show that there has been a consistent flow of migrants from London and the South East for much of this century. However, in

TABLE 4

UNEMPLOYMENT DIFFERENCES: COVENTRY AND GT. BRITAIN (C)



Source: D.E. figs. in Economic Monitor

general, immigration has consisted of movement from depressed industrial areas, such as Wales, North East England, Ireland and the 'New Commonwealth' to the locality, migrants often believing "...that Coventry streets were paved with gold." (RHS Crossman introduction to Hodgkinson 1970).

However, the 1971 census shows the city's population figure reaching a peak at that time. The 1971 figure of 335,000 decreased to 319,000 by 1981 (OPCS). This decrease has been shown to have continued during the 1980's with current estimates of the population standing at 308,000 (NOMIS 1989). At the same time the image of the 'boom' town has changed although manufacturing industry remains key to the area's economy (Coventry Economic Monitor 1988).

The earlier expansion came to a halt in the 1960's as different employment sectors began to contract. For example the aircraft industry declined considerably in the 1960's with the contraction and then closure of Whitworth, followed by the near collapse and then nationalisation, in the early 1970's, of Rolls Royce. For a time, the limited growth of the service sector, outlined earlier, hid the fall in manufacturing employment opportunities, preventing the fall in local employment from becoming more serious (City Treasurers Economic Unit 1984).

The employment position changed dramatically during the 1970's. By the end of the decade

unemployment, which as shown earlier, had been well below the national average for a long time, gradually, then swiftly, increased in total (see Tables 4 and 5). In 1955 there were 526 people officially unemployed, in 1984 the official total was 27,500 (Economic Monitor 2/85).

High unemployment continued during the eighties, only gradually improving after 1986. It has not returned to the previously low figures and like many other urban areas, still contains pockets of high, long-term unemployment.

TABLE 5.

THE 1975 TOP TEN MANUFACTURERS: THEIR POSITION IN 1984

firm	employment no.	% of 1975
B.L.	12924	47
GEC	9150	57
Talbot	4569	36
Rolls Royce	4300	52
Massey Ferguson	4150	69
Dunlop	3205	56
Courtaulds	2500	66
A. Herbert	0	0
A.E.	726	27
John Brown	316	14

Source: Coventry Economic Monitor, 1984 vol4.

Between 1971 and 1981, total employment fell from 192,435 in 1971, to 186,351 in 1976, and down to 146,332 in 1981, and has continued to fall during the 1980's (estimated to be about 128,000 in 1984) (Economic Monitor 1984). This includes a reduction of more than half of the jobs in manufacturing. Between 1971 and 1981 43,177 jobs were lost in the motor

vehicle sector.

TABLE 6
1981 RESIDENTS IN EMPLOYMENT (10%)

	G. Britain	Coventry	Nuneaton /Bedworth
Agriculture	2.2	0.2	0.4.
Energy/water	3.1	1.5	6.6
Manfg.	27.0	44.6	44.0
Construction	7.0	5.2	4.6
Dist.& Caterg.	19.2	16.4	16.9
Transport	6.5	3.9	3.6
Other Service	34.0	27.7	23.2

sources: Census 1981 OPCS, Key stats for Local
Authorities, Key stats for Urban Areas.

It should be noted that the figures stated above and those in Table 5 refer to actual numbers of jobs lost. They were not necessarily held by residents of the area. Table 6 describes the employment of the locality's residents and the differences in total employment are reflected in these figures. The difference is interesting and introduces some indication of the commuting that now occurs. This is an important development in journey to work practice and is discussed later in the chapter.

Employment - led migration?

Such a dramatic loss of employment and the 1981 census showing a significant population decline from the previous census, from 335,000 down to 319,000, and an estimated further reduction to 308,000, provided the research with an interesting problem. To what extent was population decline a result of outmigration and were people leaving because of loss of employment or the lack of employment opportunities as much migration literature indicated? The initial hypothesis of this research made this connection and is reflected in the first phase questionnaire schedules (see appendices (i), (ii)).

Migration literature tends to be fragmented, focussing on specific aspects or problems rather than on developing universal theories. This reflects the complexity of the subject and also the fact that migration¹ is studied by a number of disciplines, including economics, geography, psychology, and anthropology (Molho 1986, Jansen 1969). The current research enquiry is also concerned with certain problems connected with migration and addresses the questions why people move, how they make decisions and how they move. However, it is concerned mainly with internal migration [1], in particular with inter-locality migration and not local migration. The focus

was on respondents' first move away from the area, that is, when they made a break with the area and subsequent moves involving similar breaks. Devis and Southworth (1984) describe these kinds of moves as migration and other moves as residential mobility. The former involves a change of address between different localities whilst the latter refers to moves within a locality. There are many difficulties in defining 'moves away', including different boundaries and individuals' perception of a move away. According to Bogue (1959) the only practical way of distinguishing the two types of movement is to "...set up boundaries which, if crossed in the act of changing residence, will constitute migration." For this research this approach remains a little unsatisfactory as it does not necessarily involve a person making a break with the area. However, for the initial stages of the enquiry the distinction between a local move or residential move and a migrant was established with the TTWA as the boundary. The problem is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two.

Internal Migration theory

Theories of internal migration which take account of why people move tend to emphasise migration as labour-related. Much migration theory is premised on the basic principle of an economic 'push-pull'

model. The underlying assumption is that the individual, as 'economic actor', is either 'pushed' from areas of decline, such as the Coventry area, or is seeking to improve their economic position and is 'pulled' to those areas with the greatest opportunities.

"A fundamental notion of the economic hypothesis of migration is that unemployment at the place of origin stimulates out-migration, and increasing employment opportunities at destination sites increases in-migration, and at the same time deters out-migration." (Clark 1986, p.66)

Some writers adopt a straight forward 'push-pull' approach and assume migration is an automatic response to local economic circumstances. For example,

"...outward movement occurs where the growth in the number of jobs fails to match the natural increase in population and the main alternative is unemployment."

(Cambridge Economic Policy Review, 1980,p28)

It is often reflected in aggregate data, which presents, for example, a North to South movement as moving from areas of decline in the North to the prosperous South (Smith 1989, Green et al 1986).

However, many studies have pointed to the weaknesses of this approach, particularly concerning interpretations of individual migration behaviour. The 'push-pull' model assumes that individuals have a predetermined set of interests and it ignores differential experience of labour markets, for

example, the effects of dual labour markets, and problems with the segmentation of the labour force. It also assumes the availability of perfect information and from this, incorrectly assumes free choice and access to information and employment.

Many studies have shown that certain groups of workers are more likely to migrate. The demand is for particular skills which promotes the movement of some groups of workers and inhibits the movement of others (Salt and Clout 1976, Devis & Southworth 1984, Harris & Clausen 1967, Hunter & Reid 1967, Jackson, 1986). For example, Lancaster and Mason (1986) conclude that Coventry's employment decline has resulted in the outward migration of labour, in this instance the movement is said to be by young, skilled and technical workers.

"Coventry is now for the first time in one hundred years a net exporter of labour. The main loss appears to be amongst the young skilled and technical management sectors, people that any town can ill afford to lose".

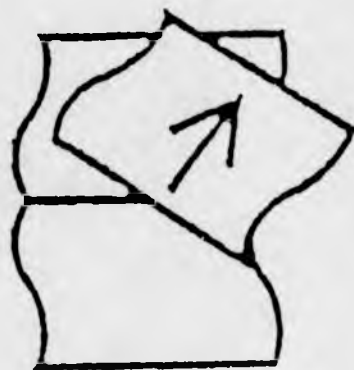
(p.365)

More generally, those with higher educational qualifications and in professional/managerial occupations are shown to be those most likely to move.

Conversely those with fewer qualifications and in less skilled occupations are shown to be less mobile. It is argued that migration is stimulated by career moves (Hollingsworth 1970, Johnson et al 1974, Harris & Clausen 1967, Green et al 1986). Devis and Southworth (1984) using data from the General Household Survey

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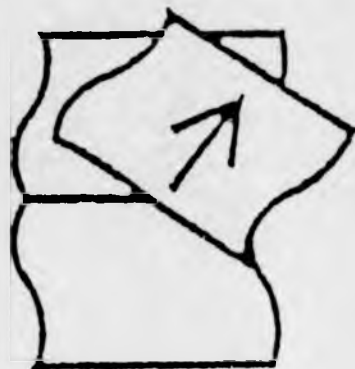
partner and housing led moves. These motives for migrations are better located within life cycle and counter-urbanisation approaches to migration. It is to these additional explanations for migration and population change that the analysis now turns.

The importance of counter-urbanisation

One explanation for the decline of a city's population can be a significant, spatial population shift which has amongst other things been labelled as 'counter-urbanisation'[6]. This shift has been taking place internationally and over several decades. It was this shift that led Zelinsky (1983) to be critical of economic migration theorists for their inability to account for the changes that were taking place in the USA. Analysing UK 1981 census data, Champion comments on its "...single most impressive finding...": a substantial population decline in Britain's larger cities. There has been an exodus from many cities. For example, between 1971 and 1981 Liverpool's population declined by 16.4%, Manchester's by 17.5% and Birmingham's population declined by approximately 7% over the same period (Champion 1989, p121). It is not, therefore, a phenomenon unique to Coventry. In part, the decline is attributed by Champion to the

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Champion (1989) comments that the 1960's baby boom created a demand for houses with gardens, for which capacity was limited in the cities.

Much of what has been outlined above can be shown to have occurred in Coventry. Lancaster and Mason (1986) point to an acute shortage of space and housing in the inter-war period as a key local issue, which led to a boundary extension. The pressure for housing continued after the second world war, partly due to bomb damage and partly through continued immigration. This was a national problem but Coventry was severely affected, with a local authority housing waiting list of 15,000 in the immediate post-war period (Lancaster & Mason 1986).

Newbold (1974) directly connects housing with changes in population. The curb in population between 1960 and 1970 was due to the housing situation. He states,

"All the towns round Coventry have been having increased population, and one reason has been that Coventry people, primarily the young people, looking for houses to buy have found them more readily available and more satisfactory as regards prices." (p.196)

This trend of outward movement is confirmed in the 1981 Census Report on Employment by Warwickshire County Planning Department (1983). Their report concludes that the outward movement from Coventry was not because of loss of employment opportunities. Rather, the numbers of non-manual workers resident in the city

declined, which, they suggest, reflects "...the movement of population from Coventry into Warwickshire rather than a decline in non-manual job opportunities in the City." (W.C.C.p.6).

Though the general, national trend of counter-urbanisation is shown to be taking place during the 50's and 60's in Coventry a related trend can be observed. This is the departure of the upper-middle class from the city. During the early part of the century, leading industrialists, for example, either lived elsewhere or moved away from the city (Crossman, (1970). Little has changed, with more senior management living either on the city boundary or beyond it (Newbold 1974), especially in towns and villages south of Coventry. This is reflected in the population structure of Coventry and areas close to the city in south Warwickshire, as shown in Table 7.

TABLE 7
SOCIAL CLASS COVENTRY COMPARED TO SOUTH
WARWICKSHIRE TOWNS: 1981.
(percentage)

area	I	II	III	IV	V
Stratford	6.9	27.1	30.3	11.2	2.6
Warwick	7.9	23.9	32.0	13.8	2.8
Coventry	4.4	12.7	36.7	17.5	5.0

Source: Census 1981 Key statistics for local
authorities OPCS.

Levels of commuting further reflect and support the evidence of counter-urbanisation in the area. A Report on Coventry early in the 1980s (CBI Coventry Report 1983) stated that, at that time, there was a substantial commuting exchange between Coventry and its surrounding districts, with some 50,000 people travelling into Coventry to work and 18,000 others travelling out of the city to work [7]. This has most probably been assisted by the increase in car ownership.

Even commuting was affected by the reduction in employment opportunities. Census data for 1980-81 records a reduction in the number of Nuneaton residents working outside the district. The number of people commuting out fell from 51% to 46% residents between 1971 and 1981. Whereas in Coventry, for the same period, the number living in the city but working outside increased from 11% to 14% of residents (Warwickshire Planning Department Report 1983)[8].

Some, however, argue that movement out of the cities also reflects fundamental changes in employment structures (Healey and Roberts 1985). There has been a shift in work production, away from the cities to their hinterlands, areas providing greater space involving, in some cases, different types of work and worker (Gillespie 1983).

It is suggested that throughout western Europe there has been a switch from a positive to a negative

relationship between net migration and settlement size (Fielding 1985). That is, the non-metropolitan (the green-belt, sun-belt) areas have gained population through migration, in contrast with the bigger industrial cities, which have lost population through migration. In this approach, population movement has been directly related to the movement of new manufacturing and services from the core to the periphery, or outer ring, areas (Gillespie 1983).

As this approach emphasises the movement of employment, it also indicates that this trend has influenced the shape and structure of migration. The movement of organisations and the development of new organisations also involved the employment of new types of employee (Massey 1984, Healey and Roberts 1985). This is shown to be reflected in the change in dominant migration patterns. Whereas in the past manual workers were dominant in migration streams, these are now shown to be of secondary importance and the current dominant stream is said to be the 'the new middle class' (Fielding 1985, p173). Consequently, labour migration is more likely to consist of non-manual workers moving to smaller, peripheral areas (Fielding 1985). It is not clear the extent to which this has occurred in the Coventry locality. Whilst shortage of space and development policy encouraged firms to become established in peripheral areas, it has not promoted

out migration. Healey and Roberts (1985), consider that industrial movement contributed little. Less than 1,100 jobs were lost to the periphery due to firms relocating.

The decline in Coventry's population can thus be summarised as being partly due to the process of counter-urbanisation or suburbanisation. This has been taking place over a number of decades, and a result of changing social and economic structure rather than being stimulated by employment or unemployment. This explanation for migration also accounts for some moves by those who remained in the TTWA ('stayers'). It also accounts for some respondents' thoughts about future moves. In these situations individuals made housing moves, preferring a small town or village environment.

Life-cycle explanations

Another important conceptual approach to migration is that based on events in the life cycle and in the Chapters which follow the current research will provide further evidence of the importance of this approach. Usually, life cycle explanations are used within a context of local or residential moves. However, the research shows the approach to be important in inter-locality migration.

A life-cycle approach, essentially provides explanations for the moves people make during their

lifetime. Early studies linked changing family structure and housing needs as a force for migration (Rossi 1955, Cullingworth 1969, Woods 1976). It connected age with stages of individual's lives. Typically, individuals were said to migrate initially on leaving home, as part of marriage, in order to take up employment, or on graduation (Bogue 1959). The first move a person makes is the establishment of a new household. Subsequent moves are made in accord with the size of family. The arrival of children requires larger accommodation with more facilities, such as more space and privacy, bathroom and garden (Johnson et al 1974). Movement is greatest when children are young (Johnson et al 1974, Devis & Southworth 1984, Clark 1986). Later when children leave to establish their own households, housing needs once again change. The approach then is based on "... a mis-match between housing needs and current housing. Household movement is thus an attempt to adjust these mis-matches." (Clark 1986 p.40). The approach introduced two important elements into migration motivation explanation, those of non-employment factors stimulating migration and the important stage of establishing a new household.

Johnson et al's survey found that,

"The operation of the family life-cycle can be seen to underlie many of the moves reported in the survey. In particular, a large number of moves were made to launch an individual or a couple as an independent household; the fact that these moves also involved job changes may be incidental or may be explicable in terms of the national job market in which many students and other compete." (1974 p 202)

Jones' (1986) analysis of young people leaving home also emphasised stage in life cycle with a variety of motives for leaving home. According to Jones young people leave home to marry, to take up employment and for study. Jones goes on to show that the process is complex in that there are differences by class and gender. For example women are more likely to leave for marriage than men, who are more likely to leave to take up employment. In relation to social class, a distinction is made between the later, but more permanent moves of the working class, with the phased moves of the middle class, leaving to go to college.

"There appears then to be evidence that the process of leaving home varies between classes in its reversibility. It seems that it is the middle class who are likely to leave the parental home earliest, not the working class. While the middle class 'live away' at a younger age, the working class 'leave home' later but more permanently, in Leonard's terms (1980)."
(Jones 1986 p...)

The argument here is that those who move for study (Leonard also includes those who leave the area for

employment (1980)) do not leave home but are living away temporarily, firstly, because home is viewed as the parental home and secondly, because many return after study is completed (as over half of those who leave for employment are shown to do).

In contrast the findings of the current research show that almost all those who left the area for education (and employment) did not return to their parents' homes and had no intention of doing so. There are a number of reasons for this. Firstly, they were making an important break with home and their parents, with their decisions made without the expectation of returning 'home'. This is reflected in the distances they consciously chose to prevent their parents from expecting visits. Secondly, Jones points to the increase in cohabitation as a reason for the later age at which marriage takes place. Cohabitation also occurs where a person has already left home for education. Consequently not only does this reinforce the break with the parental home, at the end of the course migration decisions are made by the couple as a separate household. This has implications for their shared yet gendered migration decisions as graduates and also leads to the final reason why students do not necessarily return home. As graduates their search for employment is shown to be more likely to be within national labour markets. Where they move to is likely to be partly influenced by that factor. Where graduates do return to the parental home this is likely

to be a temporary sojourn until employment is obtained. The current research indicates that a return home is temporary and occurs where offspring are unemployed and thus have little income.

More recently life cycle explanations have encompassed a broader range of motives reflecting both a fuller understanding of migration motives through, for example, research into individuals' life histories and also changes in social life (Fielding 1985, Clark 1986, Hingstman & Hart 1989). Thus the approach recognises that individuals may migrate, for example, to continue education, to take up employment, as part of career progression, to change of employment, on marriage, to be with a partner, following a divorce, as part of a reconstituted family, change of environment, and finally, on retirement.

Many of these motives for migration are shared by the respondents in this study. The first moves in which new households were established, were predominantly to enter higher education, for a variety of employment reasons, and for marriage. Not only were they leaving the area at a young age but they they were also making a break with home.

Accounts which have recognised the importance of moves within a life-cycle make a further important point about migration. Whilst the first migration takes place on leaving the parental home for one reason, subsequent moves may take place later for other

reasons (Hingstman & Hart 1989, Clark 1986). So that one cannot assume that an individual with a higher qualification and in a professional occupation will necessarily migrate for career progression reasons. According to Jackson, "Internal mobility may arise from a variety of changes in social circumstance." (1986). Even where a move involves a change of employment "... the search for work may be secondary to a move achieved for reasons of housing or health or to be near kin or for retirement." (Jackson 1986 p36).

To summarise, migration literature is dominated by explaining mobility in terms of employment. Many accounts do raise important issues about problems for people moving and as will be discussed below, these are relevant for migration decision making. However, as an approach which attempts to explain the reasons why people leave an area, it is inadequate. The section then considered two different yet connected approaches which account for population movement and motives for movement. Counter-urbanisation provides one way of showing that migration is not all employment related. It partially explains why cities are losing population, that people prefer to live in smaller towns and villages and more are able to do this with improved transport. Additionally younger people moved to take advantage of cheaper housing in smaller areas. Some of the moves of 'stayers' could be included here, but not those of the 'movers'. In the research, those who left

the area can best be located in the life cycle approach. This approach recognises that moves are made for many reasons in addition to employment. They moved to continue education, on marriage or to be with a partner. Where the move was connected to employment, it was not because respondents were unemployed, though this influenced some actions, it was to take up employment, as part of training, to move closer to the place of employment and, in one case only, as a career progression. Similarly, subsequent moves had a greater employment connection, they could not simply be understood by the push-pull approach. Life cycle approach introduces some of the complexities in migration motivation and decision.

There are a number of reasons why migration literature has tended to be narrowly focussed on employment rather than adopting the broader life cycle approach. First, migration was initially linked to nineteenth century classical economic theory and the operation of the labour market. For much of the twentieth century there has been a concern, which is reflected in social and economic policy and within research, to either understand migration as problematic within the imbalances of the operation of labour markets and policy attempts to correct this. It has been reflected in governmental attempts to solve unemployment such as the sponsoring of research into migration (Harris & Clausen 1967); it includes various

schemes for the movement of people to areas of opportunity or employers to areas of high unemployment; it is reflected in studies which see regional employment imbalance as problematic, enquiring into the economic characteristics and motivations of individuals who move and others do not (Wedderburn 1965, Taylor 1969).

Secondly, whilst studies have shown that migration takes place for many reasons, a distinction has been made in the distance individuals have migrated. Brant (1984) reported that during the year 1980-81, migrants tended to move short-distances. Within Great Britain, on average, approximately 69% of people moving moved less than 10kms, 18% moved between 10 and 80kms, and 13% moved more than 80kms. Harris and Clausen (1967) found that short distance moves (of up to ten miles) were more likely to be connected with housing or marriage than employment. Increasingly over distance, employment is shown to be the most important motive for the move. This pattern is also shown in the GHS survey 1976. It should be noted though that the Harris & Clausen study does not include education as a motive and the GHS survey classsifies education and employment together.

In contrast, a life cycle approach has tended not to consider distance as a factor in its analysis. Thus many life cycle moves relate to internal migration but are more usually associated with residential moves.

It is important to distinguish this kind of move from those which involve making a break with an area. Johnson et al. (1974) point to the importance of this difference, particularly when job or even house search and migration decisions are made. Moreover, it was of concern to this research which has enquired firstly into a sample group's moves away from the Coventry Area and secondly into a sub-sample groups' subsequent inter-urban moves. It is important as the individual or household is contemplating making a break with one known area and often moving to one that is unknown. Migration therefore involves risk and uncertainty.

Thirdly, the methodological approach to the study of migration influences explanations of movement and motivation. The use of macro or aggregate data is often used to develop migration theory based on certain economic characteristics of the individual with a range of other selected variables. Johnson (1984), critical of methods used in attempting to understand the motives and 'causes' of migration, writes of a regression model based on size and distance variables that can be shown to give a 'reasonable fit' with inter-urban migration, but he adds,

"...when migration behaviour is disaggregated, a gravity model approach of this kind does not give too great an insight into the causes of migration and the determinants of movement involved. Certainly the general picture must be produced by an amalgam of a considerable range of distinctive underlying patterns."

(1984, pp308-9)

Similarly, the use of data such as the census is used to establish the economic characteristics of migrants and from these characteristics assumptions are made about motive and decision making in migration. The point is that though macro data is valuable it is limited as a way of analysing subjective aspects of migration motive and decision making.

Migration is a social process and, as such, analysis should reflect both social and economic life and social change that takes place within a society (Bogue 1959). For example, in this study many young people made the important decision to leave home and the area to enter higher education. In other countries, young people often remain at home until after graduation, as they did in earlier decades in England and Wales. The development of communication systems means that some people do not have to live and work in the same area (Woods 1976, Jackson 1986). Some respondents in this study were able to move in this way. Improved communication systems also mean that young people will meet and marry partners from other areas (Hutson & Jenkins 1989), as they did in this study. The findings in the early stages of this research confirmed the need to adopt a more flexible approach to analysing migration motives. Individuals move for a variety of reasons at different times in their lives as is suggested in a developed life-cycle approach.

The young migrants from this area left for a variety of reasons. In addition to various employment concerns as a motive for leaving, marriage and education were also important. The research also showed that subsequent moves have been made for a range of reasons as suggested in the life cycle approach. A labour migration approach would suggest that economic characteristics displayed by many of these migrants indicate individuals who are mobile in pursuit of career progression. Their experiences, however, provide a different picture, reflecting different social circumstances. Many moves have been to take up employment or change employment; other moves have been on marriage or as part of marriage; moves have been made for environmental preferences and health reasons.

Migration, decision making

Categorising motives is important as a way of demonstrating the variety of reasons for migration. However, it provides only a superficial understanding of the process of migration and does not fully explain the factors making up the migration decision. What does the migrant take into consideration when taking a decision to leave one area and move to another? In particular, how is the decision made when a move involves the combined break of leaving home and leaving the area of origin, as were the first moves of the

study's sample group.

As there are many reasons stimulating migration so too are the factors influencing migration decision making. There are many social factors included in the migration decisions of individuals and households, which are not adequately demonstrated in internal migration literature. Some factors can be shown to be motive specific whilst others are shown to be common concerns in decision making.

Education tends to be ignored as a motive for migration. Instead it is presented as a key characteristic of a migrant and has long been associated with career ambitions as stimulating migration. The current research indicates that decisions about higher education and migration are not made simply on the basis of the best course available or the most prestigious institutions. Decisions are shown to be shaped during individuals' school experiences. They are influenced in particular by peers with the expectation of migration. Where to study is decided upon from a range of factors reflecting what is important to the person at that time. Whilst the course content is important, of significance is the fact that education provides a means for young people to establish their independence from their parents. Thus as part of that concern distance from the area of origin is a consideration. Other factors forming the migration decision are the geographical area of the educational institution, the

facilities offered by the institution, including social aspects and accommodation and finally, young people's anticipations of a particular social life-style.

The current research also provides evidence of the importance of marriage as an influential factor in migration decision making. Migration statistics indicate marriage as an important factor in mobility. Yet there is little recognition in the literature that migration decisions are household decisions involving men and women.

In later Chapters decisions about migration are shown to be made on marriage and within marriage and to be gendered decisions. The current research also shows the inter-connected nature of variables as influencing factors in migration, that marriage is connected with both education and employment. For example, evidence is provided which shows that migration on and within marriage may necessitate the employment change of one or both partners; after graduation, decisions about migration are made that affect both partners. The evidence here will indicate that decision making will more likely tend to result in women moving on account of their male partners. Decision making here is influenced by the social and economic position of women in society, in the workplace and in the household. However, the current research will also suggest that decisions made

between women and men though often unequal, are negotiated decisions.

Migration literature has often not considered women or households as important bases for analyses. However, with the increased participation of women in paid employment and increased awareness of their position in society, migration decisions are shown not to be simply decided by individual men but as shared decisions of households. As a household that decision is shown to be complex, including many social and economic factors. Influential considerations include access to parents, as family contact remains important, locality preferences, and local facilities for the couple and any children they may have. Evidence from the current research reveal these factors to be shared by those who remained in the Coventry area. Often social factors override employment considerations.

Where the household is made up of only a couple, migration decisions are shown to take account of both partners' employment needs. In this research, evidence is presented showing that the employment circumstances of many women and some men make that decision easier to make. Many are employed in the public sector, in 'universal' occupations which enable women to move without losing employment status or income.

Some of the factors indicated here as influential in migration decision-making are recognised by economic cost-benefit analysis. The difficulty with this

approach, however, is in attempting to quantify a quality, or subjective rationalising of different households. The current research identifies many factors influencing migration decisions and significantly suggests that these vary with the stage of a relationship and between different households.

It has already been shown that employment stimulated migration is influenced by many, often non-employment factors. Decisions are often made within households, not by individuals and may well involve more than one person's job. Where employment circumstances are influential in the decision, the current research points to the inadequacy of accounts which assume that decision making has been made on the basis of an economic 'push-pull' rationalising of the individual within the market place. Some people change jobs without necessarily being unemployed or seeking promotion. Given that a considerable amount of time is spent in the workplace, relationships within the workplace are important. Where there is a poor relationship between employee and management, the employee may seek to alter their situation. One way this is achieved is through change of employment and for some this can involve migration. Opportunities elsewhere allow individuals to alter that situation. Of importance in the current research was the fact that many had opportunities through their employment in the public sector.

Labour migration literature draws attention to many difficulties facing different groups in considering migration. Even where individuals or households are willing to migrate, they require access to accommodation and employment. There is too much risk and uncertainty to move without the means to survive and a home. Access to both these factors is gained through information about opportunities and is facilitated by institutions which often provide financial assistance. In the following Chapters these factors will be shown to be important in the migration decision. In this research a common link is established between the different motives for migration, whether for education, marriage, or employment: This is that none of the moves made are speculative moves. The individual or household is shown to have had information and the opportunity of migration, access to means of financial support and finally, accommodation.

The evidence of this research enquiry indicates that an important consideration in migration analysis is the risk and uncertainty involved for the migrant. There are psychological costs to be taken into account. Migration will usually involve an individual or household moving from an area which is familiar (in work, family, friends, and facilities) and moving to an area of which little or nothing is known. In the area of origin life has been structured around what is familiar but on migration these structures have to be

developed. From this point of view potential migrants may be apprehensive before migration, and for a time after the move, the individual or household may feel isolated.

This is a concern for the young and single as well as for the older migrants and families. For the young person, the move may be the first break with their family of origin as well as with the area, as a move partly establishing their independence. For the older person and families, migration entails other, additional, financial costs. These include, for example, the cost of the move and in many cases, difficulties in purchasing a house. This may have entailed problems of maintaining, and thus funding, two households, at least for a temporary period.

It is less likely therefore that much migration would be speculative. Some approaches seem to analyse migration as a non-problematic process, with individuals 'pushed' from one area and 'pulled' into another (see for example, Todaro 1976). They give no indication of how people know where to go. As Clark comments, '...people do not simply get up and leave.' (1986,p62). In order to move from one place to another people need to have at least a known destination and a means through which they achieve that migration.

Information plays an important role in enabling migration to be considered, whilst support mechanisms facilitate migration. This is often shown implicitly

if not explicitly in much migration literature, particularly employment related migration literature. For example, employment-led migration is usually associated with particular, higher, socio-economic groups. These groups have national labour markets, as such information about opportunities, or 'information dissemination' (Kennett 1982) is made known at a national level. Moreover, their new employer often provides some assistance as part of making the move to take up the new job. In contrast, less skilled, non-professional socio-economic groups are shown to have local labour markets. Information about employment opportunities is also available at local levels rather than being more widely available. These workers are often said to be tied to an area. Where less-skilled workers are mobile, these moves can also be shown to have been based on information about employment opportunities and facilitated through mechanisms providing¹ support. This has occurred where employers recruit directly or where employers relocate or are multi-plant organisations; it also takes place where workers move through chain migration and through networks.

In an earlier part of the century, George Hodgkinson a well known local Coventry socialist, recorded how the Daimler firm were involved in a recruitment drive in his home town of Beeston, Nottinghamshire (1970). Workers were recruited after the last war by the local authority, from Ireland and

the West Indies (Newbold 1972). Peugeot relocated their design operations to Paris taking some employees with them. Amongst others, Mann's mobility study is based on the relocation of a firm from Birmingham to Banbury involving the migration of many of its workforce (Mann 1973).

When employment opportunities are reduced information is thus also removed or reduced and mobility levels are also shown to reduce, and not increase. During the first half of the 1980's, migration levels have been reduced by twenty-five percent (National Economic Development Council, 1986).

The reduction in mobility is largely attributed to the effects of the recent recession (Owen and Green 1984, Champion 1989, Smith 1989). This is supported by research of Pissarides and Wadsworth (1987) showing that unemployment levels act to depress labour mobility. They compared two periods, 1976-7 and 1983-4, and found that higher unemployment did have a depressing effect on labour migration. It is the unemployed who are less likely to move. Migration is more likely to be undertaken by someone moving from one job to another (Smith 1989, Kennett 1982). Some writers point to the importance of job advertising as influencing levels of migration. Smith comments,

"When fewer jobs were being advertised, because employers were cutting back on their workforces and because labour market turnover was depressed, the scope for significant migration was restricted."
(1989,p175)

In Pissarides and Wadsworth' research, migration did not take place simply because of spatial differences in unemployment, an important factor was the number of jobs advertised in a region.

Support mechanisms are important in facilitating migration thereby reducing some of the risk and uncertainty of the move and assisting with the making of the migration decision. Their importance is recognised by some employers, where they require particular labour. Employers increasingly contribute to moving costs, refurbishments, and on occasions provide temporary accommodation. It may be that this kind of assistance relates to an individual's status within their employing organisation. Nevertheless, that assistance does facilitate the move and the migration decision. According to a report for the CBI Relocation Council, showing the financial costs connected with relocating employees,

"Typically, it costs a firm £3,000 to £4,000 merely to compensate an employee for removal expenses and disturbance costs, such as replacing curtains carpets and so on... It is not uncommon of employers to pay in the order of £50,000 or more for some moves. Neither employees themselves, nor the unemployed, can in most instances cover the costs of moving to a different region..."

CBI relocation council 1986, p.2

Other employing institutions provide a totally enclosed environment, which is particularly important for young people. For example, the armed services and some civilian services such as in the health service

and fire service, provide support systems which facilitate the take up of those jobs. Family and friends are also providers of support. Grieco (1989) shows how dispersed family groups extend networks available to some workers. The presence of these networks and the material assistance they provide enables migration to take place. Boyd (1990) also emphasises the role of these networks in international migration. Examples of network support can be found amongst social accounts of migration (for example Joyce Young 1985, Bertaux-Wiame 1982). Additional examples of the role of support mechanisms are given with the many 'directed' workers to Coventry during the last war for whom purpose built housing was provided.

The current research provides evidence which indicates that migration is more likely to take place where such support mechanisms are present. This applies to non-employment migration as well as where moves are labour-related. This is shown for example where young people leave home and area to continue in higher education, the educational institution facilitates the important break with home and the transition from familiar to unfamiliar. Assistance is provided with accommodation in the first year, usually with halls of residence enabling gradual independence and decision making responsibilities. The higher education institution has ready made structures and an environment in which to participate and advisors to

deal with student's problems. For young people and their families this mechanism is important in easing the migration.

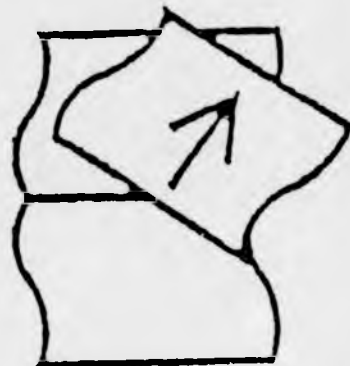
Moves on marriage and within marriage are also made where support mechanisms are present. There is an additional dimension here, as marriage can inhibit migration as well as facilitate it. It can also involve migration where one person moves on account of the other. Nevertheless, moving as a household or as a group means that some of the risk and uncertainty is overcome or reduced. It may also mean that one of the couple, familiar with the area, is able to assist the other during the transitional period following the move.

This chapter has suggested the importance of looking beyond employment and the 'economic' approach as a sole or necessarily primary factor in stimulating migration. The approach to the research has shifted away from perceiving the migration problem as the simple result of unemployment 'pushes' and employment 'pulls'; although such an approach is useful in providing understanding of the circumstances and the pressures that exist to promote migration. However, its narrow economic focus precludes an adequate understanding of migration, which is a complex process.

Instead, the approach adopted here has been to consider broader aspects of the migration process. As such it has been concerned to examine how people move. In taking this approach it focusses on the importance

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footnotes

[1] Most of the respondents moved within UK, however some have moved internationally.

[2] the research is based on the TTWA, but because of difficulties in presenting evidence for the whole of the TTWA, as will be shown in Chapter 2. the background information is predominantly based on Coventry, being the centre of the TTWA.

[3] the TTWA was altered in 1984. The previous TTWA (called Coventry Employment Exchange Area) included in addition to Coventry, Kenilworth, Meriden, Balsall, Berkswell, Baginton Bubbenhall, Stoneleigh.

[4] Although Coventry is an administrative centre it is not a regional centre. Moreover, its proximity to Birmingham reduces the likelihood of this type of employment expanding in the area. Finally, even though the city contains many large employers, few have head offices in the area. The presence of these would have enhanced the level of administrative service sector jobs (Healey 1984).

[5] There are a number of difficulties in presenting the unemployment data. a) It covers periods using different methods of counting the unemployed. b) it covers the different ttwa's for Coventry which have lower unemployment than Coventry c) female employment would be shown to be higher but for method of counting 'hidden unemployment'.

[6] other terms for this concept include suburbanisation, urban-rural shift, 'deconcentration' (Kennett 1983, Gillespie 1983), 'flight from the cities', (Lind 1969), 'counter-urbanisation' (Champion 1989), 'deglomeration' (Fielding 1985).

[7] The information here is not sourced.

[8] the significance of counter-urbanisation is that it probably influential in the formation of the current TTWA.

Chapter Two

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The last chapter introduced the issues on which the research enquiry was based. The enquiry focussed on an area which has experienced population and employment decline in a period of economic crisis. Within this context questions were posed initially about the relationship between the crisis and decline with migration. In such a situation is outmigration economically stimulated as proposed in a 'push-pull' approach? Or is it more likely to reflect the many life-cycle events individuals and households experience? At this early stage of the research enquiry, greater emphasis was placed on an economic explanation for migration with employment assumed to be a dominant motive for leaving the area.

Whatever the motive for moving, this information only provides a narrow understanding of what is a complex process. To create a better understanding of what was involved, the research questions also needed to address broader issues. How do individuals decide where to move? How do they move? What are the influences that contribute to migration decision-making? In other words, how can the movement of an individual, or household, from one area to another, be

best understood? The research strategy was designed to address these questions.

This chapter sets out the research programme followed to answer these questions. The methodological techniques employed are discussed, including the reasons for their selection. After discussing the methods used in the research, the chapter then chronologically outlines the experience of implementing these research decisions.

Research strategy

Before deciding on the most appropriate methods to be used it was important to establish what information was available that could provide an overall picture of migration in Britain. It was also necessary to provide background information on the Coventry area's population decline. Did migration account for the population decline? How did current migration compare with previous periods of migration in the area? This sort of information provided a context in which the research could be located, as was shown in the introductory chapter.

The main sources of migration information were Census statistics and the National Health Service Central Register (NHSCR). [1] These sources provided a useful, but limited, indication of migration. Their advantages are that each provides data indicating

levels of movement in Britain, information about migration destination and data on migrant characteristics. The NHSCR only collects data on migrant's sex and age. In Census data additional characteristics are available, including socio-economic group membership and employment status. The availability of this kind of information is useful in that it provides an indication of general patterns of movement, of where individuals move and who moves.

Census and NHSCR data have many deficiencies. The Census, for example, only provides information about migration taking place one year in ten. Also information about occupation is based on head of household and the operational definition of this virtually excludes women.

Another problem with using census data centres on changes in definitions and boundary changes, which make comparison of census periods difficult to undertake. In this last respect the definition of the Coventry area has changed in each of the last three censuses. Whilst revised information is available for comparative purposes for 1971 and 1981, it is limited information. In addition some useful data collected in the 1981 census is only available to order and at a relatively high cost. The cost involved is an additional consideration for research projects and this data is less likely to be accessible to students with small budgets.

The NHSCR, however, provides annual data on migration, though access to it has to be negotiated as it is not publicly available. This information is maintained by local authorities and at the Office of Population and Census Surveys (OPCS). Any information required from this data can only be noted by hand and is not released by, for example, photocopying. Until 1986, migration information was only available from a 10% sample and was therefore a less reliable source. Its main disadvantage, however, is that it records every registered move. Thus, individuals who, for whatever reason, make multiple moves in a year and who register will be recorded for each move in the statistics. For the migration study, however, leaving the area meant leaving the area for at least a year. Further, not all individuals register with a GP following their migration. Whilst the NHSCR assumes a time lag of three months for registration to take place, some people will not register until they need to see a GP. These particular deficiencies will result in some inaccuracies as to numbers and the characteristics of those who are actually moving. Nevertheless, the Census and NHSCR statistics, together provide a useful indication of migration patterns and trends. Whilst the availability of these statistics enables the investigation of some migrant characteristics, they do not provide information about the process of migration. They do not show why people move or how they move.

Methodological techniques

The next step was to select suitable methodological techniques which would suit the research aims. Migration literature emphasises economic factors as more likely to account for outward migration than non-economic factors. Consequently the initial focus of this was on employment, unemployment and migration. A corollary to this focus was that if unemployment was not the motive for migration what other reasons stimulated migration? In addition to this an important aim of the research was to explore the process of migration. Thus, as well as collecting data analogous to that of the Census and NHSCR, which would show who moved and where those individuals moved to, other information was wanted about why individuals were moving and the factors influencing their migration decision making. This included establishing how they moved and comparing them with those who remained in the area.

It was important that the research adopted methodological techniques enabling these aims to be met. Within social research there is a broad choice between qualitative and quantitative methods. Whichever method is selected is influenced by the preferences and discipline of the researcher, as these factors have already given shape to the research framework by the kinds of questions asked. For the techniques employed produce different kinds of data.

For example, a researcher from an economic discipline is more likely to select techniques based on the use of large data sets than a small sample based on in-depth interviews. Moreover, these choices will have shaped the questions and aims on which the research strategy was based.

As methodological techniques produce different kinds of data, the selection of the technique to be used should therefore take this into consideration. Quantitative data, combines variables to analyse what actions take place. For example, in this study, respondents' characteristics provide an understanding of who moves and describe mobility. To find out about the process of migration, about "...the complex processes that precipitate human interaction..." (Filsted, 1970, p7), to understand how decisions are made and why people move requires a more in-depth approach.

These two approaches are often used within the same research programme with one method used to complement the other (Filsted 1970, Schatzman & Strauss 1973). Hakim (1987) discusses the usefulness of this dual approach using overlapping techniques. She comments that where a survey is undertaken first, followed by qualitative research, the quantitative data set can then provide "... a rich sampling frame for selecting particular types of respondent for depth interviews." (p.32). Moreover, Hakim adds that the

combination of qualitative research with other methodologies reduces the risk that

"...invalid conclusions will be drawn from the researcher's untested assumptions about the motivations and processes underlying correlations in the quantitative data..."

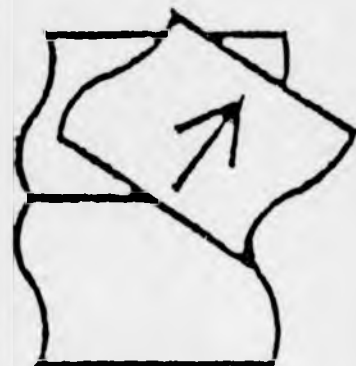
(p.32)

Both methodological approaches are suitable for different aspects of the migration study. For the migration study, a quantitative technique would establish who was migrating and to where they were migrating. It would allow comparisons of certain characteristics between a sample of migrants and national migration data and between migrants and those who had remained in the area. Qualitative techniques would then allow an investigation of why people moved, what influenced their decision to move and how they moved.

The choice of methodological technique used in a study is also influenced by practical factors. Decisions have to be based on the financial limitations of the project. Selection has to take into consideration the time available to complete the fieldwork and the study. The migration study benefitted and was influenced by the prior existence of a data set, the Social Change and Economic Life (SCEL) Initiative, which made possible a quantitative analysis.

Taking into account these considerations it was decided to follow a two stage programme, employing a

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anonymity to the respondent and this often produces better information (Cannell, 1985).

A disadvantage of the technique is said to be that by comparison with face-to-face surveying it establishes a poor rapport with the respondent (Cutler and Sharp, 1985). Groves and Kahn (1979) also add that it is easier for potential respondents to hang up with the telephone than slam the door when questioned. Also, use of the telephone is becoming a problem with its greater use by various organisations as a method of selling. According to Cannell (1985), this is beginning to deter individuals from participating in surveys. It may thus be viewed by the individual as an invasion of privacy (Cutler and Sharp, 1985). Finally it contains an inherent bias, in that people without a telephone cannot be included in the sample. Individuals said to be excluded include migrants, those in rented accommodation and those in lower socio-economic groups (de Vaus 1977, Cutler and Sharp 1985, Groves and Kahn, 1985). This last point was an important consideration for the research strategy as individuals from the sample groups were expected to share these characteristics.

The experience of implementing the two surveys showed this to be a generally successful methodological technique. One reason for this was that it allowed participation to be negotiated in a way that an impersonal postal survey would not have permitted. This is probably due to the fact that it is easier for

the respondent to spend a few minutes (fifteen minutes approximately) answering questions over the telephone immediately, or arranging a suitable time, than having to set aside time to read through a questionnaire, complete it, seal it in an envelope and post it back to the sender. Another factor here is that with postal questionnaires, the potential respondent may forget about the questionnaire and not complete it which is avoided where contact has been made by telephone. Because of the demands being made of respondents, the survey had been constructed therefore to only ask essential questions enabling a picture of the two sample groups to be obtained. It was important not to deter people from participating by either asking too personal questions or too many questions. This would have involved spending a long time on the telephone when there were numerous other things they probably wanted to do. These were important factors given that the survey sample groups were to be established from an pre-existing data set, which placed limits on the ultimate size of the sample group. This would not necessarily be a problem for other applications of this technique where, for example, a sample group was randomly selected. For the migration study it was important to maximise the number obtained for each group.

It was a particularly effective way of establishing a rapport with respondents for reasons which are slightly different than Cannell, de Vaus, Cutler and Sharp suggest above. It was not possible for respondents to remain anonymous as information about them had already been obtained and one of their parents had already participated in SCEL. However, many respondents proffered additional information as is commonly experienced during face-to-face interviews but is much less likely to be achieved with a postal questionnaire. Having established a rapport this enabled the second phase of research to be achieved more easily.

There were also some difficulties in implementing the telephone survey. It was essential to be well organised for each interview not allowing pauses in conversation whilst pages were turned or responses noted. This would have been less of a problem with face-to-face interviewing where the respondent is able to see the interviewer's actions.

Although the technique may be easier to implement, however, it is not necessarily cheaper or quicker than other techniques. It often took several attempts to make contact with individual respondents. The difficulty was predominantly not knowing an individual's work or leisure pattern and commitments. The longest time it took to obtain information was three months. This was achieved after many telephone calls and letters sent.

Finally, it was suggested earlier there was an inherent bias in using this technique as migrants were amongst the categories of groups excluded from this method. Given that the most important sample group was based on migrants this was an obvious concern. However, thirty three of the 'mover' sample group, representing approximately 70%, did have telephones. Where individuals did not possess a telephone or where contact was difficult, as in the example referred to above and to some members of the armed forces, a postal questionnaire was used. This was done because it was more important to maximise the size and representativeness of the sample group than simply to use the one method. Given that the same questionnaire was used in both situations and that the group had been selected from the same source, it would not have the influenced the structure of the sample group or the data obtained from the group.

Problem and the importance of SCEL

By its nature studying outmigration in Britain would usually be problematical. This is because there is no routine administrative mechanism for tracing people who leave a given area. Other studies have been able to 'capture' outmigrants, for example as part of an employer's relocation such as Mann's 'Workers on the Move' (1973), or as the transference of workers

within a firm or industry as in Taylor's study of miners (1969). The establishment of a sample group and decisions about methodological techniques were eased by access to an existing database. The Coventry TTWA was studied as part of a national research initiative, titled Social Change and Economic Life (SCEL). As part of the project the Coventry team included questions in their survey specifically about migration. The database established from this major project included the names of parents with adult children. It was possible therefore to establish a suitable sample group of individuals who had left the Coventry area for the migration study. Before discussing the migration sample group, it is necessary to provide some background information on the SCEL initiative.

The SCEL research initiative studied social and economic change in several cities in England and Scotland, one of which was Coventry, between 1985 and 1987. It was conducted in two stages of which the first was a work history survey based on a random sample of 1,000 individuals aged between twenty and sixty. The sample frame was obtained through the Electoral Register. The second phase was called the Household and Community Survey (HCS). In this a sub-sample of 300 was randomly selected from the original 1,000. The only prerequisite for the sub-sample was that it should contain a minimum of seventy-five households with an unemployed resident.[4] It was

from this sub-sample that migration questions were asked in the Coventry locality. The HCS included names of the post school adult children, some who had left the area, some who had left home but lived in the TTWA and some who still lived at home. These individuals were the target sample group for the migration research project and from them was established the sample group of individuals who had left the TTWA area and those who currently lived in the TTWA. Consequently, the sample group for the migration study is taken from a randomly selected sample of individuals and households and is thus reasonably representative of the population as a whole.

Fieldwork timetable

It was decided to conduct the fieldwork in two main stages, as outlined earlier. The survey stage however, was further divided into two groups ('movers' and 'stayers') with each group to be interviewed and analysed in turn. This was done for practical and organisational purposes, the reasons for which are outlined below. However, it will also be shown that this was more important than had been anticipated and secondly, the intention was not so neatly realised in the actual conduct of the surveys.

The 'mover' survey was concerned to establish the characteristics of migrants describing who migrates, to where they had migrated, and to provide an initial indication of motives for migration. In particular information about employment and possible links to migration were ascertained. As a study of outmigrants from Coventry the survey was also concerned to see whether unemployment was the reason for leaving the area. The 'stayer' survey aimed to ask the same or similar questions as 'movers', though there were some differences. It was clearly not possible to ask precisely the same questions of those who stay and those who move. Also care had to be taken about the way in which questions about not moving were asked. It was better to ask, for example, whether an individual had ever considered moving rather than why they had not moved. In addition to this the 'stayer' survey was to be the only contact with that sample group, so it was important to obtain as much of their employment experiences as possible. Consequently, additional questions were asked of them. Another concern was not to overburden respondents in the time available for interview and strain their willingness to talk over the telephone. It was important therefore to ask only what was necessary for the project questions to be addressed.

Access to the potential sample groups was only possible through the SCEL parents and their co-operation was therefore an essential stage to

satisfactorily completion. After writing to the parents, contact was made wherever possible by telephone. In those instances where the parents were not on the telephone, they were visited at home. This process, as with the telephone survey, frequently took several attempts before contact was made.

Parents acting as gatekeepers tended to be protective towards their children and their involvement with the project. They were often unwilling to pass on their children's details, address and telephone number, without first talking to them about it and obtaining their permission. Some parents were reluctant to have further contact with the research, though generally they were very helpful in their assistance to establishing contact with their children [5]. Their reluctance is quite understandable given their substantial involvement and co-operation with the SCEL initiative. Moreover, even greater demands were being asked of the parents, for they were now being asked to extend their co-operation on to their children, who were predominantly living independently from them.

Nevertheless, having the parents in a gatekeeping role was an advantage in making contact with the adult children. Negotiations with the children were made easier. As parents were contacting their children about the research, they were preparing them for the contact with the migration project. This assisted in reducing suspicion on contact and made requests for

information from them easier.

Parents were contacted in accord with their adult children's status as either 'mover' or 'stayer', as presented in the SCEL database. During this part of the fieldwork a number of difficulties emerged. These occurred whilst parents were contacted for the second survey, the 'stayer' survey. It became clear that some cases had been omitted from the 'mover' survey. This was partly due to some of the adult children having left the area since the SCEL surveys had been conducted. Also other cases had been omitted from the first survey due to the incorrect coding of data from the SCEL survey. Consequently, a manual check was undertaken of the SCEL 300 questionnaires. Although very time consuming it was successful in that it increased both of the potential group's size. Moreover, as it was not discovered until the period of implementing the second survey, it resulted in a 'mixed' second survey stage, as well as having to re-analyse the data obtained from the 'mover' survey.

The questionnaire survey stage of the research was conducted over a nine month period, between December 1988 and September 1989. In total 97 parents of 231 children were contacted or contact was attempted. Following negotiations with parents and attempted contact with the respondents these numbers were eventually reduced to 82 parents of 159 children. The reasons for this are outlined in the footnotes.[6]

Survey Details

Altogether, 159 interviews were completed. This figure consists of 47 'movers' and 112 'stayers'. The results of these interviews forms the basis of Chapter Three. Where potential respondents were not on the telephone, postal questionnaires were sent to them. Unlike their parents, there was no attempt to contact them at home. This was because many were geographically dispersed, 'stayers' as well as 'movers'. It would have taken too long therefore to have attempted this. A glance at the original SCEL questionnaires showed that interviewers frequently had to call a few times at participants' homes before they were able to conduct the interview. This occurred even where interview times had been pre-arranged.

One unexpected advantage of the telephone survey was the additional useful information respondents sometimes supplied. This turned out to be important for the migration study, for additional comments made by respondents in the surveys, especially the 'stayer' survey, provided ideas for the way in which the project should be developed. For example, the thesis of this research is that movement is more likely to take place where there are support mechanisms to facilitate that migration, for migration involves risk and uncertainty.

The survey analysis did not present expected results and required careful evaluation about the way

in which the second stage should be developed. Firstly, whilst the 'stayers' were subsequently shown to compare well with the local population's details and experiences, the 'movers' did not. A comment from the fieldwork diary shows the dismay, 'they're just typical migrants, they could be from any city.' The dismay was expressed as migrants had not left the area because they were unemployed, nor was employment the dominant motive for leaving the area. Instead, events in individuals' life-cycle provided a more suitable explanation for the migration motive.

A decision had to be taken at this juncture about the direction of the research strategy. In view of the survey results should the focus be shifted? Would it be possible or suitable to develop a new strategy which would specifically address the original research problem? After numerous discussions with friends and colleagues it was decided to refocus the research enquiry and explore the broader motives for migration and not simply employment. This involved a reconsideration of the issues to be developed in the second phase interviews of 'movers'. The 'stayer' survey however, remained as important, even though it emphasised employment experiences. The 'stayer' group act as a control, with characteristics and experiences serving to highlight the limitation of narrow economic explanations for outward migration. Whilst the shift has had to incorporate a reconsideration of why people move the original concerns with the process of

migration and migration decision making remained relevant.

Secondly, as part of analysing the data, what it meant to leave an area had to be defined. The difficulty in achieving this relates, as commented earlier, to the issue of geographical boundaries and what these mean for the individual's sense of moving away from an area. It was shown earlier that there are many difficulties in providing a suitable definition and that an initial operational definition was simply that of moving out of the TTWA. The results from the 'mover' survey showed that respondents had made moves involving a wide range of distances from the area. But the initial definition was not satisfactory as some respondents had crossed the boundary but the move had made little impact on their lives. They were simply moving to a nearby village which involved moving over the TTWA boundary. In contrast it is possible to move approximately twenty-three miles as the crow flies within the boundary. That move may have involved making a break with one area and becoming familiar with a new one. It may include being part of another administrative area. Paradoxically, it is possible to experience this within the TTWA, where it is not classified as a move away. For example, two respondents who currently live in Coventry were both considering moving to different localities within the TTWA. Both respondents would have to become familiar

with their new areas socially and would become part of a new administrative area. Further, both respondents felt their move involved moving away from the area.

The problem of defining migration here has been further complicated with the TTWA geographical boundary and the changing and differential journey to work. Patterns of the journey to work are often related to different socio economic groups and for example, difficulties women with children often face in the distance they are able to travel. Migration is commonly connected directly with employment. For example,

"Of the various types of population mobility in England and Wales, movements involving both a permanent change of residence and a permanent change of job are particularly important because of their implications for regional contrasts in population growth and economic activity."

(Johnson et al, p.91, 1974)

and

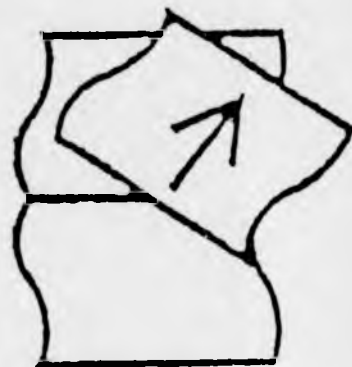
"...I'm not concerned with ...men and women, typically men, who are crossing a recognised political or administrative frontier for the purpose of selling their labour power...I'm only concerned with those migrants whose original point of residence and present point of work (or work search) is far enough or expensive enough apart, not to permit daily or weekly travel."

(Cohen 1987 33/4)

Neither of these definitions were adequate for the migration study. Whilst these may be useful definitions for exploring employment and migration, this research has been concerned with a broader experience of migration. Moreover, the 'mover' survey

PAGE(S) MISSING
NOT AVAILABLE

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particularly on points three and four. It led to two respondents being reclassified as 'stayers' and some uncertainty about two other cases. These two respondents were subsequently interviewed and asked whether they considered they had moved away from the area and if they had in what ways. Both respondents said they did. For one respondent it had been a complete change, whilst the other said it was very different but she was still able to make contact with her parents.

In-depth interviews

The final stage of the fieldwork was to conduct the in-depth interviews. This methodological technique was used as a way of finding out about the process of migration. This kind of interview was a useful way of drawing out individual experiences and evidence about how individuals structure their lives within the migration context. This includes how they move, how decisions are made and how important employment is to that decision. Such experiences can act to inform interpretations of and assumptions made in statistical or quantitative data.

The questionnaire schedule for these interviews was semi-structured. It was constructed to provide guidelines for themes to be explored rather than a highly structured questioning approach. Questions

asked of respondents were predominantly the same, yet also had to reflect their different experiences. Prior to each interview the individual's 'biography' produced from the survey questionnaire stage was studied to prepare for the interview and the selection of questions to be asked. For example, a large number of 'movers' left the area to continue in education. These respondents were questioned in more detail about education and migration. Also, some respondents had partners, they were asked about how their partners would influence a migration decision. Clearly, the identically worded question could not be asked of those without a partner.

The whole process of the selection of a sub-sample group, deciding the content of interviews, arranging them and then conducting them, took place between October 1989 and April 1990. It was necessary to limit the number of interviews to be conducted, for a number of reasons, which were largely practical. The experience of trying to arrange and contact respondents for the telephone survey had taken a long time and fitting in one to two hours for interviews would be an even more difficult and lengthy process for a group who were predominantly in full-time employment. In addition to this they were migrants who had moved to many different places. There were constraints on the number of respondents who could reasonably be interviewed and there were constraints, too, on the number of interviews that could be achieved in a single day

because of the amount of travel this entailed. It proved almost impossible to co-ordinate interviews in a broadly similar area. Also, some people were excluded as Chapter Three shows, as they currently lived abroad.

The idea of conducting telephone interviews was considered for these respondents. However, it was felt that the difficulty of conducting satisfactory telephone interviews, involving an attempt to record, take sufficient notes and informally discuss issues with respondents, meant that this was not feasible. Time was a limiting factor. A few individuals (three), did not want to be further interviewed. It was decided therefore, to limit the number for the in-depth interviews to twenty-four. This represented approximately half of the 'mover' sample group and would provide sufficient experience and information for data analysis.

Selection for the sub-sample group reflected a combination of research aims and practical needs. A grid system was used in which a list of issues, formulated following analysis of the 'mover' survey, was crossed with list of names of the migrant respondents. The intention had been to select those who had connections with most issues. However, there were other additional considerations which it was felt should be included. Firstly, there should be a fairly

even balance in the gender of the interviewees. As it turned out this was not a problem. Secondly, it should include as many of those who had joined the armed forces. It was important to obtain an understanding of why they had joined the armed services, which is often associated with lack of local employment opportunity. Thirdly, it was known from the 'mover' survey that some respondents had changed jobs on migration. It was therefore important to include these people as it was possible that the move had been connected with the locality's economic decline.

Most of this period of fieldwork went relatively well and with such an experience the limitations of the public transport system are quickly made known. The main difficulties included early faulty tape recording. After having to re-interview one respondent, and on good advice, extensive notes were also taken during interviews and written up as soon as possible after the interview. In two instances where recordings were faulty, analysis has been based on these notes.

As far as possible interviews were conducted in respondents' homes to make the process as easy as possible for them. Occasionally this was not possible. In all but one of these situations the interview took place in the respondent's workplace, with one interview taking place at the university. Finally, the very last

interview conducted was with a doctor and took place at hospital whilst he was on duty. Unfortunately, he was called away during the very last section of the interview and it was not quite completed.

Analysing the data

The main regret in the process of analysing the data was that each tape was not fully transcribed immediately. Instead the relevant section of the tapes was transcribed when each theme was analysed. One of the advantages of more unstructured interviews is that respondents provide useful, additional information and may talk about issues not in the order the interviewer wishes. This makes analysing the data within themes more difficult. Although a more tedious task, it would have been more efficient and data made more accessible had all the tapes been transcribed as a single exercise.

The following chapters provide the analysis of the results of the surveys and issues from the in-depth interviews. Chapter Three presents the 'mover' and 'stayer' survey results. Chapters Four to Seven, discuss the themes and issues which formed the basis of and, arose out of the in-depth interviews with the sub-sample 'movers'.

footnotes

[1] As part of this aspect of the research, the International Passenger Survey was also examined. It is of limited value a) because it is based on a 1% sample, b) more recently there have been changes in the content of information presented and c) the amount of information readily available has been restricted.

[2] The 'Stayer' sample group did not consist solely of individuals who had remained in the area. Some had left for different periods of time but had returned to the area.

[3] diagram of research programme.

(i) The sample taken from SCEL [HCS] 300 database
-> 97 parents of 231 adult (post school)
children

(ii) Contact parents to gain access to children
-> 82 parents agree (see 4)

- (iii) Establish sample group
 - > 159 adult children agree to participate

(iv) Administer two first phase surveys
'mover' 'stayer'
 47 who have left 112 includes those
 the area live with parents,
 those who left
 home, those who
 leave the area and
 return

(v) second phase interviews
selected sub-sample
24 'movers'

[4] This was an ESRC requirement and was shown to be a difficult and complex process for the various teams. (unpublished note M. Anderson for the Edinburgh team)

[5] The parents' and their children's contribution and patience to this research is much appreciated. It is questionable, ethically, as well as operationally, whether researchers demand too much from individual respondents.

[6] the sample size was reduced in the following ways.
parents contact. 15 parents of 49 children lost.

reasons: a) parents refuse further contact or say children refuse; b) parents moved; c) parental details inaccurately coded, such as children have never lived in the Coventry area.

children contact. sample size reduced by 23.

reasons: a) refused (7); b) not return postal
questionnaires (16)

GROWING UP IN COVENTRY TTWA: HOW SOME PEOPLE LEAVE
AND OTHERS STAY: RESPONSES TO THE SURVEYS

The research enquiry focussed on issues relating to migration. It was concerned with who migrated and the reasons why they left the area. In particular it was also concerned to establish how people moved and the influences on their decision to move. The recent economic background of the locality, particularly the rapid rise in unemployment, made it important to enquire how far employment and unemployment were significant factors in the sample group's migration from the Coventry TTWA.

This chapter presents the findings from the first fieldwork phase of the research. This stage of the research aimed to establish certain characteristics and employment experiences in the Coventry TTWA of the sample group. The characteristics of migrants were obtained from two surveys. One survey was of a group of people who had left the Coventry area ('movers'), the other was of a group who still lived in the area ('stayers'). Both surveys aimed to draw out information about those characteristics generally associated with migration in Britain today, such as education, occupation, mobility levels and destinations. Many of the questions in both surveys

(see appendices (i) and (ii)) are employment focussed.

It should be emphasised that this reflects the stage of the research enquiry and the initial thinking at that time. One of the early concerns of the enquiry was to see to what extent employment factors provide an adequate explanation of motives for leaving the area. This chapter, as was also indicated in Chapters One and Two demonstrates that individuals move for a variety of reasons and do not simply act as 'economic actors'. Not only is this reflected in the 'mover' survey but is also supported in the responses of 'stayers', some of whom have considered leaving the area and the many who have not.

Although the main focus is on 'movers' the survey of 'stayers' is also important. Taken together the two groups provide a representative sample of a similar local population. As part of this the 'stayers' highlight local experiences. The two profiles also provide some contrast in experience between those who moved in this period and those who remained in the area. At this stage more questions were asked of the 'stayers' than the 'movers'. This was in order to draw out as much of their employment experience as possible as this was the only opportunity to obtain this information from them.

The chapter is largely descriptive and outlines and compares selected characteristics of the two groups. After they are briefly introduced, the

chapter compares their family backgrounds. It first outlines parental academic achievement and social class. This part of the description is taken from the SCEL Initiative database. The respondents' own academic achievements are then contrasted both between 'stayer' and 'mover' groups as well as with both groups' parents. Following sections describe the employment characteristics of both groups. Because the 'mover' and 'stayer' experiences are so different they are presented separately. This enables the 'stayer' experiences to be drawn out more fully and at the same time highlights the difference between them and the 'movers'. With the 'movers' additional information was wanted about their characteristics as migrants such as mobility.

As well as describing the two groups' characteristics, the chapter explores the influence of unemployment and other motivations for migration. Finally, it considers how people move and introduces the concept of mechanisms which facilitate migration. It is this concept which then forms the focus for the succeeding chapters.

The two survey groups

The surveys of the 'movers' and 'stayers' groups were based on interviews with one hundred and fifty nine respondents. This figure was made up of forty-seven 'movers' and over twice as many, one hundred and twelve, 'stayers'.

The 'mover' sample group consisted of twenty-three males and twenty-four females. At the time of interview they were aged between nineteen and forty-one, with an average mean age of twenty-seven. Significantly, a high proportion of the 'movers' were married. In this group thirty-four stated they were married or lived with their partner [1], with thirteen of the group classified as single, including one person who was divorced. Less than half of those who were married (fifteen) had children. The significance of the relatively high number of 'movers' who were married is discussed in Chapter 7 which focusses on marriage. The 'stayer' group consisted of fifty-five females and fifty-seven males. The group's age span was slightly broader, with respondents aged between sixteen and forty-three. The average mean age was twenty-five. There were fewer in this group who were married in comparison with the 'mover' group. Amongst the 'stayers' the division was almost even, with fifty-four married respondents and fifty-eight who were single. Included in this latter figure were three respondents who were divorced and two who were lone parents. Significantly, of those who were single, forty-nine still lived in their parent's home [2] Additionally, more 'Stayers', thirty-two respondents, over half the group, had children.

Family background

The family is a useful starting point for comparing the two sample groups. For the family is one institution in which lives are shaped and influenced and in which many life cycle events take place. Parents' own achievements and experiences in education and employment provide an example of a source of influence. If migrants are more highly qualified and in professional occupations, it may be that they are repeating the achievements of their parents. It has been shown that children predominantly continue to share the social characteristics of their parents (Halsey (1989), Savage (1988)[3]). It would thus be reasonable to expect the two survey groups to display similar academic achievements and occupational characteristics as to their parents, with the greater difference existing between the 'mover' and 'stayer' survey groups.

Another contrast that might be expected is in the parental experience of migration. The Coventry locality has attracted thousands of migrants over several decades this century. Many parents of these respondents will be migrants to the area. Arguably, their children will not have established 'roots' in the area. They may not, therefore, have a strong commitment or be tied to the area in the same way as someone whose family has lived in the area for some generations. The two survey groups are compared with their parents to see if this relationship is present.

However, in comparing the respondents from the two groups, generational influence does not appear as significant as may have been expected. In a number of important ways the two groups are shown to share similar backgrounds.

Briefly, the two parental groups are composed as follows. The one hundred and twelve 'stayer' respondents are from sixty-nine families, which contain one hundred and twenty-seven parents. This includes eleven family sets in which there is just one parent. The forty-seven 'movers' are from thirty-five families and include five families with one parent. Taking the two groups together there are eighty-two family sets. However, it should be noted that when the survey groups are analysed separately this total figure is different. It is increased because there are siblings in the 'mover' and 'stayer' groups. Consequently there is some overlap between the groups.

Table 1.

Parent Highest Educational Achievement

	'STAYER'	'MOVER'
<u>qualification</u>	<u>number</u>	<u>number</u>
none	39	16
commercial(rsa)	4	2
city & guild	7	3
apprenticeship	5	2
'O'	6	2
HNC	2	1
nursing	0	1
degree/diploma	2	3
other	4	5
total	69	35

Source, SCEL 300 Household Community Survey, 1987.

Table 1 shows the highest educational achievement of the SCEL parent respondent [4] comparing 'stayer' and 'movers'. Both groups' parents are broadly similar in their achievements. Many of the parents have no qualifications at all. For the 'stayer' parents, just over half have not gained any qualifications whereas the figure for the 'movers' is just below half. Again for both groups the qualifications gained have largely been post-school qualifications and these are preponderantly vocational in orientation. One small, but noticeable, clustering is that of the parents with higher academic qualifications. Three parents in the 'movers' group either have degrees or teaching qualifications and all are employed as teachers.

The high level of those without any qualifications is probably a reflection of the period in which the parents attended school. Their post-school qualifications, moreover, indicate the importance of vocational training to the parents and also reflect the industrial base of the locality.

Parental social class is examined with reference to both father's and mother's last occupations. The social class position of father is shown in Table 2

Table 2.

Fathers' Social Class Position : last occupation

	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>111NM</u>	<u>111M</u>	<u>1V</u>	<u>V</u>
	percentage					
'STAYER' N=59	0	22	20	39	17	2
'MOVER' N=33	0	24	12	42	18	3

source: SCEL, HCS database for Coventry 1987

note: information missing for 1 father

This shows that there is very little difference between the two. In so far as there is a difference, it is that 44% of the 'stayer' fathers held non-manual occupations as against 36% of the 'movers'. This thus runs counter to the expectation that parents in a higher social class will encourage their children's migration.

The same also applies when mother's social class is considered [5]. Table 3 shows that 52% of 'stayer' mothers were in non-manual occupations as against 39% of 'mover' mothers. Again then, there is little to support the view that migration is associated with parents of a higher social class.

Table 3

Mother's Social Class: last occupation

	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>111NM</u>	<u>111M</u>	<u>1V</u>	<u>V</u>
	percentage					
'STAYER' N=52	0	10	42	10	27	11
'MOVER' N=28	0	14	25	14	32	14

source: SCEL, HCS database for Coventry 1987

note: information missing for 1 mother.

Whether parents were themselves migrants is another possible source of parental influence on migrancy. Parents who are themselves migrants may stimulate the migration of their children. They may have contacts elsewhere who could assist their children in migrating. Finally, the young people may be willing to move as they do not have such strong attachments or roots in the Coventry area.

As Table 4 shows there is a difference between the 'mover' and 'stayer' parental origins, it suggests a greater tendency for migrants to originate from migrant families and stayers to originate from generationally resident families. This is not, however, overwhelmingly the case, as over a third of the 'mover' parent sets are from the Coventry area and over half the 'stayer' respondents are from families containing a migrant parent. Interestingly, a significant minority of parents consisted of one migrant and one generationally resident parent. In these cases the offspring were rather more likely to be 'stayers'.¹ The evidence here suggests that there is some parental influence over migration decisions and this will be taken up again in the next chapter.

Table 4.

Origin of parental sets

	percentage	
	'STAYER'	'MOVER'
	N=69	N=35
Both parents born in area	43	37
One parent born in area	26	17
Neither parent born in area	30	46

Source: SCEL Household and Community Survey, 1987.

Education

The next step is to examine the educational achievement of the 'stayer' and 'mover' respondents themselves. Educational achievements are often associated with migrations. Analyses of internal migration within England and Wales shows it largely to be undertaken by those with the highest qualifications (Harris and Clausen 1966, Johnson et al 1974, Jackson 1969, Jansen 1970).

Educational achievement is also associated with employment and migration. This is based on the nature of the labour markets and the kinds of occupations followed by those with higher qualifications. That is, those in the professions have to seek employment within national labour markets and they may have to move as part of their career development (Devis & Southworth

(1984), Hoare (1983)). In contrast low educational attainment is a characteristic of those who are employed in mass manual occupations and are said to be less mobile. It is in the two sample groups' educational characteristics that strong differences emerge.

The 'stayer' and 'mover' respondents left full-time education between the years 1961 and 1988, though most left between the years 1976 and 1986. This long time span covers periods in which the locality has experienced significant educational change, including the raising of the minimum school leaving age in 1973 and the restructuring of state schools, including the introduction of the comprehensive school system and the introduction of additional examinations. Comprehensive Education was introduced early by the Coventry Educational Authority (Burgess 1986, Richardson 1972). These combined changes have generated a greater participation of students in examinations.

The group's educational experience is varied reflecting the broad range of provision made by different educational authorities as well as other changes that have taken place. As young people, most respondents attended comprehensive schools, though some attended grammar and high schools, also a few attended secondary modern schools, direct grant schools, or those with learning difficulties, special schools. Of particular note is the number of 'movers'

who went to local direct grant schools. Also significant, were two respondents in the 'stayer' group who attended schools for those with learning difficulties and neither of whom have been in employment. This provides an example of the additional difficulties some individuals may face in contemplating independent migration.

Both survey group respondents left school, in the main, at a time when there were fewer employment opportunities generally and this was a particular problem for young people. Over three-quarters of the 'stayer' group left school at the earliest opportunity, with eighty-seven leaving by the age of sixteen and the remaining twenty-five staying on for one or more years. Their school academic achievements reflect this pattern. Although most of the respondents gained some qualifications, (87% based on 111 respondents) only 8% of the group have 'A' levels, compared with a national average for school leavers of 17% (DES,1988) [6]. Of the twenty-five remaining at school over the minimum leaving age, eleven left at the age of seventeen, with the other fourteen leaving school at either eighteen or nineteen. Nine of these fourteen gained 'A' level qualifications. Those who remained at school for an extra year did so with the intention of re-sitting examinations, though not all did. This was a period in which young people were being encouraged to improve their qualification levels.

Just over half (twenty-six) of the 'movers' left school at the earliest moment. Like the 'stayers', most respondents in the 'mover' group gained some qualifications whilst at school. There were only five who did not, that is, approximately 10%. However, in contrast to the 'stayer' experience, all those who remained at school to the ages of eighteen or nineteen (twenty-one respondents,) gained 'A' levels.

Even though the majority of 'stayers' tended to leave school at the earliest moment, many returned to education. Over half (fifty-six) of the respondents obtained qualifications after leaving school. Like their parents, such post-school qualifications tend to be vocationally oriented.

Table 5

Group Highest qualifications

qualification	'STAYER'		'MOVER'	
	number	percent.	number	percent
none	13	12	2	4
CSE	21	19	6	13
O	30	27	2	4
A	4	4	1	2
C&G	10	9	2	4
RSA	6	5	2	4
Trade/craft*	15	13	4	8
BTECH	5	4	1	2
Diploma *1	2	2	2	4
Nursing	1	1	2	4
HNC	1	1	2	4
Degree	3	3	17	36
other (army)	-	-	4	8
refuse to say	1	1	-	-
Total	112	101	47	100

[7]

* this is based on craft apprenticeships includes, hairdressing, and engineering.

*1 These are not professional qualifications but foundation courses.

Table 5. shows that most 'stayers' have gained some qualifications (89%) and that these qualifications can be grouped into two main categories. These are shown to be the lower school qualifications of CSE and O levels or, secondly, vocational qualifications rather than higher academic qualifications. In the group just over 45% have CSE/O levels as their highest qualification with a further 34% having gained vocational qualifications. Very few respondents have higher academic qualifications, with only three individuals having gained degrees, (2.7%).

In sharp contrast, many of the 'movers' are well qualified. Only two, a very small proportion of the group, have no qualifications. Seventeen respondents, representing 36% of the group have obtained vocational qualifications. A further 36% have either gained degrees, including some with post-graduate qualifications, or are currently studying for their degrees. Others in this group have those qualifications associated with professional occupations and migration. The educational achievement levels of both groups have some similarities in that a significant proportion have vocational qualifications (including those gained in the armed forces). The striking differences are located in the low number of 'movers' with no qualifications and in particular the concentration of 'movers' with degrees. It becomes clear that education may provide the means for many of the respondents to migrate.

Employment experiences in TTWA

The period in which many of the two groups left school to begin an important phase of their lives, that of paid employment, was one which featured severe economic crisis. The crisis, resulting locally in massive job loss, was particularly difficult for the young (Watts, 1983). A report concerned in part with this problem commented,

"There are few jobs specifically for juveniles and with surplus experienced adult manpower available, the competition for jobs has been severe. In addition, the number of apprenticeships offered by industry have also declined. (In Coventry 456 apprenticeships in 1980, 248 in 1981).

(Coventry Report, CBI, 1983)

It was a position in which the young clearly fared badly with few opportunities and high unemployment. According to the careers service annual reports for Coventry, of those who left school in 1976 60% found employment. The remainder were wholly unemployed, on a government training scheme or their situation was not known. The figure finding employment had declined to 41% in 1980. In 1984 the number of school leavers finding employment was at its lowest at 21%. By 1988 the report shows the figure to have slightly increased to 31%, with most of the remainder, 61% (1542), being unemployed or on a training scheme (Careers Service Annual Reports, 1976-1990). The number of those categorised as unemployed (either on a government training scheme or wholly unemployed) is substantially

greater for sixteen to eighteen year olds compared to those over eighteen. The number of sixteen to eighteen year olds unemployed increased from 3,275 in 1977 to 6,149 in 1987 (Coventry Economic Monitor, 1986) [8]. It is at this critical point of completing their education in an area with such poor prospects that the two groups' directions and experiences diverge sharply.

Many of the 'movers' had little or no employment experience in the Coventry locality, other than some experience of part-time employment as school students. Thirty-six 'mover' respondents had left the area by the time they were aged twenty. All but one had left the area by the age of twenty-four. As will be shown later these migratory decisions were not directly connected to employment. It is at this point that the analysis now focusses on the 'stayer' experiences in the context of the high rates of local youth unemployment just described.

'STAYERS'

When these young people left education they faced many obstacles to entering full-time employment. As outlined above, this was a period of few employment opportunities. At the same time various training schemes were introduced by successive governments with the stated aim of providing employment skills for the young and other unemployed. It was a period which

could have been expected to have created the pressure on young people to seek employment elsewhere.

Many of the 'stayers' experienced difficulty in obtaining employment, periods of unemployment, and participation in government training schemes. After leaving school, almost half the respondents (fifty-three) found employment. A further nineteen (17%), continued in some form of education, entering either F.E. college or higher education. At this time thirty-eight were unemployed, twenty-two were wholly unemployed, and sixteen participated on a government training scheme. Throughout their working lives, thirty-seven, a third of the respondents, joined a government training scheme [9]. Also, almost half of the group have had some experience of unemployment.

Most of the 'stayers' are currently in paid employment. Table 6. sets out their stated employment position at the time of interview.

Table 6.

'Stayers': current economic status

<u>economically active</u>		<u>number</u>
employee		79
self employed		7
unemployed		7
government training scheme		2
sub-total		95
<u>not economically active</u>		
reason	housewife	13
	student	2
	long term	
	sick/disabled	2
sub-total		17
Total		112

Approximately ninety per cent of those currently economically active are in employment with approximately 7.4% registered as unemployed. This is a little higher than the official figures for the last quarter in 1989 for the TTWA which was 6.3% (Coventry Economic Monitor, 1, 1990). Of those not currently seeking employment, two respondents under the stated group of housewife and/or mother had never been in paid employment, as was the case also for the two students. These four usefully illustrate important facets of life experiences within any locality. Of the two females, one went straight on to a government training scheme after leaving school. Before she had completed the training scheme she married and had children. The other was pregnant immediately after she left school and has not yet sought paid employment. In the case of the students, one is taking part in a foundation course in preparation for entry into higher education, whilst the other person has learning difficulties and her experience so far has been to participate in various schemes and courses.

Although manufacturing employment in the Coventry area has declined from the mid-1970's, it remains relatively high. This is reflected in one third of the employed stayers having jobs in this sector. But, conversely, 60% were employed in the service sector.

The occupations of the 'stayers' are indicated by the social class distribution shown in Table 7.

Table 7

'Stayers': Social Class

percentage						number
1	11	111NM	111M	1V	V	
-	16	27	34	22	1	86

This table records current social class of 'stayers' in employment. The social class position of those not currently in employment is as follows. Of the thirteen who are currently classified as housewives, one was previously in social class 11, seven in 111NM, two in 111M, and one in 1V; with two who cannot be classified as they do not have any experience of employment. One respondent who is now long term sick/disabled was formerly in social class 111NM. Of those who were unemployed at the time of interview, three had never been employed, one person was in social class 111NM, two in 1V, and one in V.

The table illustrates the group's concentration in manual employment and in non-professional occupations. In a qualified way the table also reflects the age and limited employment experience of some respondents. For some respondents are still in the process of gaining qualifications and skills which may lead to professional occupations. For example, one respondent employed in her local authority's executive department, is currently studying to become a legal executive.

Examples of jobs that respondents currently hold include hairdresser, bank clerk, housing manager, boiler assembly worker, track worker, variety of engineering worker, postal workers, police officer, fire fighter, and teacher. These examples are useful as illustrations of the broad range of occupations held by young people. Their employment is not concentrated in the dominant manufacturing industries within the TTWA which are vehicle production, hosiery manufacture, electrical goods and telecommunications. Their employment experiences illustrated the changing employment opportunities available to young people today.

The instability and insecurity of the recent economic crisis is likely to have affected workers' ability to change jobs. In periods of full employment and greater employment opportunities, there tends to be higher job turnover. We would expect to see the reduction in employment opportunities reflected in the number of jobs respondents have held with their age. Whilst many held more than one job, a substantial number, thirty-four, have held only one job. For the most part these respondents found employment after leaving full-time education. Most of them (twenty) are employed in the services sector, with a further twelve in manufacturing and two in retail occupations.

Nevertheless, fifty-three held more than one job.

These tended to be older respondents who had previously been able to change employment. For other respondents having more than one job was linked to periods of unemployment. Some respondents, in their late thirties, have held many jobs. An extreme example of this is one respondent, currently self-employed, who has held over 25 jobs, changing job every few months when she was 'fed up'.

Lack of employment opportunity in an individual's labour market area may lead to a broader search for employment, resulting in an extended travel to work journey, though this does not necessarily include a residential move (Evans 1991). Some 'stayers', fourteen, had been employed outside the area, but this was largely connected to other factors, such as employers on multi-sites or where respondents have not adopted the same TTWA as the current TTWA boundary. There are only two clear examples of respondents searching for and finding work outside the area because of unemployment. In both cases the respondents found different kinds of work. In one situation the respondent found work in Leamington but only remained there for one day before obtaining suitable employment in Coventry.

Unemployment

One of the important early concerns of the research was to establish the relationship between

local unemployment and migration. The 'stayers' experience is mixed with almost half never experiencing unemployment. Many others have been unemployed; a little over half of the group (fifty-seven) have experienced unemployment. Much of this occurred between the years 1976 and 1988, especially between 1981 and 1988. This reflects the period nationally in which unemployment was high and also the longer local experience of unemployment.

Their experiences of unemployment have varied considerably. Some of the group were unemployed after leaving school, others were unemployed following employment, yet others on completion of a training scheme. Although the majority of the group who have been unemployed only experienced one period of unemployment, others have been unemployed several times. There were seven respondents who had been unemployed four or more times.

One significant response to the recent youth unemployment was the emergence of a variety of government training schemes. Although they were gradually introduced in the late 1970's, for young people during the 1980's they have been the alternative to registering as unemployed where there were no prospects of employment. According to the Careers Service Annual Report to the Education Committee for 1984, only 21% of fifth form school leavers found

employment, 12% were wholly unemployed but fully 60% were classified as unemployed and on YTS. (Careers Service 1985) Not only have young people been directed onto these schemes once, in some cases they participate in more than scheme. Participation in government training schemes has been important for a significant number of the group. Thirty-six of the group (almost one third) had taken part in such schemes. Of these thirty-six, eleven participated in more than one scheme. Furthermore, two thirds of them (twenty-four) have also been registered as unemployed.

The description of the 'stayers'' unemployment reveals very mixed experiences. A significant number of the respondents do not appear to have faced any difficulty in finding employment. During the economic crisis of the late 1970's and 1980's, on leaving school they have found employment and remained there throughout the period. Others however, have been unemployed on leaving school, have participated in training schemes and have had short spells of employment interspersed with further unemployment. Given the unemployment experiences of a significant number of respondents and the lack of opportunities the circumstances were those in which migration might be considered. However, they have predominantly remained in the Coventry locality. The next section outlines their thoughts about moving away from the area and the extent to which their thoughts were influenced by unemployment and lack of opportunities.

Thoughts of leaving the area

How far did economic circumstances encourage the 'stayers' to consider moving away from the area? The 'push' theory is common to various labour market accounts. The assumption with some is that migration is an automatic response to such circumstances (Brant 1984). Other writers however, accept theoretically that there is pressure for a 'push' migration, but that this is problematic (Holland 1975, Green, Owen et al 1986, Johnson 1987, Massey (1984). They argue this does not always take place because labour markets are experienced unevenly. Thus particular types of occupations and skills attached to those jobs are associated with local labour markets. In such situations, information about work is also local. A further dimension to the 'push' approach is based on the assumption that young people would contemplate moving as they are less likely to have ties and responsibilities.

TABLE 8

Thoughts of leaving and experience of unemployment

	Thoughts of <u>leaving</u>	No thought of <u>leaving</u>
	numbers	
unemployed	28	27
never unemployed	<u>30</u>	<u>27</u>
	58	54

To explore this the 'stayers' were asked if they had ever considered moving away from the area and whilst many had, their reasons were more likely to be based on non-employment issues. Just over half the respondents (fifty-eight) had given some thought to moving away from the area, although some also made the point they were not serious and had not given much thought to it. Comments made here included 'it was a passing thought', 'fleeting thoughts, but not taken any action about it'.

Those who had not considered moving away were as likely to have experienced unemployment as not. Twenty-seven respondents had been unemployed and twenty-seven had not. Thirty-five of those who had not considered moving away were single, mostly living at their parent's home. Even the presence of a sibling elsewhere had not stimulated thoughts about leaving the area. There were twelve respondents who had not considered moving away and had outmigrant brothers or sisters.

Most of those who had not thought about moving away did not make any further comment about their response but some did. Sisters, June and Jane F, both unemployed said they would not move away from the area. They did not mind travelling further for a job, but their family and friends were in the area. They did not want to leave them. Anthony B, who did not want to leave the area, had in the past found work outside the

area and had lived away for part of the week. Finally, instead of employment promoting the idea of moving away, Valerie B made the point she was '...more concerned about the scarcity of jobs and hanging on to the job I've got...'. The implication here is that migration is difficult and individuals are not necessarily going to be advantaged by moving to another area. Some people want to live where they are, they have friends and family in the area, and as the last respondent, question whether moving would bring with it greater job security. The situation is somewhat different for the fifty-eight who had considered moving away. Amongst this number was a group of twenty who, in fact, had moved away from the area and returned. Their actions require further discussion and are considered later in this section of the chapter.

The employment position of the remaining thirty-eight who have or are currently considering moving away is different from those who had not thought about moving away. Here there were many more who had not been unemployed yet had considered leaving the area. Of this grouping, almost two thirds, twenty-four respondents had no experience of unemployment. The remaining fourteen had been unemployed and had also considered moving away from the area. Only four of those who had been unemployed gave reasons which could be connected with their unemployment experiences. This important difference between those with unemployment

experience and the greater number of those without, suggest that thoughts about moving are more likely to take place from a position of strength and of security.

The reasons given by the thirty-eight who had considered moving away from the area were not directly concerned with unemployment or lack of opportunities. Their reasons were often multiple and not single reasons for wanting to leave. Most of the reasons given can be broadly taken as factors associated with environment or quality of life although some also included employment. Ten respondents had considered emigrating, mostly to Canada or Australia, but also to the USA. Reasons for wanting to emigrate were largely a combination of weather, opportunities, and where Canada was the considered destination, the openness of the country. One person who was planning to move to Canada suggested that Canadian society was less hostile and racist than England.

Others considered leaving the country for European destinations or broadly because they wished to travel. There were three who had considered leaving the country, and their motives had been based on either having friends elsewhere and being encouraged to join them, or dissatisfaction with life after a holiday and wishing a different life and travel. Holidays influenced a further three respondents who all have plans to move to holiday resorts in England. Two other respondents mentioned the urban environment as motives for wanting to move. Both were dissatisfied with

trends of building development; one person considered her own area overdeveloped preferring small towns and villages, the other disliked the way general building was taking place. Other non-employment reasons given included the ending of relationships (two), a partner living elsewhere (one), wanting a change or bored (three), education (one).

There were ten respondents who gave reasons for thinking about leaving which were connected with employment, of which three were based on the lack of employment in this area. Their reasons for remaining in the area or not taking further action about moving were either that their own circumstances altered, such as obtaining a job or in one case being given a house by parents, or that the individual had been unsuccessful in finding work elsewhere. Another three respondents were in the position of having to consider moving and be prepared to move as part of their job. This included one person who had wanted to join the army. A further three respondents were considering moving not because of their own job but either because of their partner's or a parent's job. Finally, one person who sought promotion within his current employment had thought about moving in order to improve his position.

Not everyone gave a reason for why they had stayed in the area. At the time of interview some 'stayer'

respondents were quite definite about their intention to leave the area, either in the near future or more long term (six), for others the intention does not appear to have gone beyond 'thinking about moving', but not pursuing this as their circumstances altered. Once more the reasons commonly given for not making the move were linked to wanting to be near the family and friends here, concern for their children's education or they were now settled into a more permanent relationship. For example, Angela K and her family seriously considered emigrating. They did not follow through with the idea because partly they wanted to stay near their family and partly because they were not sure of their employment prospects as their employment skills were specific to the locality's hosiery industry. Another person who also had considered emigrating finally decided to stay after her brother died and she did not want to leave her parents.

For others, obstacles prevented the movement from taking place. Two respondents have so far not been able to move away as they were unable to sell their houses. Another person, planning to emigrate with his girlfriend and her family, was eventually refused a visa. For others, their comments were linked to the idea of moving when young, in their late teens, and that this was a passing phase.

Having outlined the motives of the majority of the group of those who had thought about leaving the area, those who left and subsequently returned to the area

are now considered. The length of time for which the twenty were away varied from a few weeks to several years. Unlike others in the 'stayer' group, their reasons for leaving the area are more likely to be linked to employment as Table 9 shows.

Of those who moved in connection with employment two moved because of unemployment or job loss. One person was already unemployed and found employment through the 'Job Club' in another area. The other person was redeployed in another area within the same region. All, except for the two women who moved on account of their husband's job, had employment to go to. As in the previous two cases both the women's moves could be viewed as 'push' or forced moves. There was little choice about making the move, with one person's husband in the army and the other person's husband being moved by his employer.

Table 9
Returners: reasons for leaving the area

<u>Reason</u>	<u>Number</u>
employment linked	
1 to take up job	2
temporary job	2
husband's job	2
join army	3
move within firm	2
training	3
total	14
not linked to employment	
education	5
run away	1
total	6

Some of those who left, including the four whose moves were forced, had not wanted to leave and they returned at the first opportunity. Reasons they gave for their return were largely centred on not wanting a break with the area. This was the area in which they had established relationships, contacts and were familiar with. Other comments included, 'I wanted to settle down', 'I did not want to leave my boyfriend', 'I was lonely and the place was unfamiliar', 'I did not like working away'.

Others also gave predominantly non-employment reasons for their return. One respondent, employed in Coventry, had moved to cheaper housing away from the area and then returned following the oil crisis of 1974. Another respondent, a fire fighter, left to complete his training and returned on being posted in the area. Finally, one respondent whose job away failed, returned when she became unemployed.

Despite the 'stayer' group's experiences of unemployment, moving away was not a considered solution for the vast majority of respondents. Where people had thought about moving they did so mainly for non-employment reasons. Where respondents had moved for employment reasons, and later returned, they did so because the move away was forced or the Coventry locality was their base. It will be shown later that there are some similarities between 'returners' and the 'movers'.

'MOVERS'

Having described the employment experiences of the 'stayers' the analysis now focusses upon the 'movers' and begins by outlining the employment of those who were employed in the Coventry area before migration [10]. It was noted earlier that most of the group had had little experience of employment in the Coventry area. Individuals tended to leave the area at a very young age. The oldest respondent to leave the area, was twenty-eight when she left. Almost three-quarters of the respondents, approximately 70%, (thirty-three), left the area by the age of nineteen.

Twenty-three respondents in the 'mover' group had some post-school employment experience in the area.

Table 10

S.E.G. : 'Movers' with employment experience in Coventry

S.E.G.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
no.	-	1	-	-	4	8	2	-	4	1	3	-	-

Like the 'stayers' these respondents were mainly employed in junior non-manual and skilled/ semi-skilled manual occupations. Where the respondent's socio-economic grouping indicates skill, it appears their training was undertaken in the Coventry area. These people were amongst those, who, according to some

approaches, are less likely to move because their labour markets and thus their information are local. For example Johnson et al (1974), say the more intermediate groupings of SEG 5 and 6 would like to move but do not.

There was little indication from this sub-group that unemployment was an issue in their migration. Only one person included in the above table was unemployed immediately prior to leaving and an additional respondent had not in fact had a job but had participated in a YTS scheme prior to her leaving the area with her boyfriend.

One way of indicating employment pressure to move is to identify those people who change the kind of job they do after their move has taken place. Seven of the above group did change the kind of work they did on leaving, whilst a further seven remained in the same job and either moved to a different employer or transferred within the same organisation. Apart from the two examples above, no respondents were unemployed before leaving and there was minimal indication that unemployment was a factor in their migration. This point is made more forcefully when the 'mover' group's motives for leaving the area are described.

Table 11

'Movers' :Main reason for leaving the Coventry area
and previous economic position.

<u>Reason for leaving the area</u>	<u>number</u>	<u>previous activity</u>
EDUCATION	17	education (16) bar worker (1)
MARRIAGE	9	education (1), clerical(2),machinist*(1) nurse(1),fitter(1), dancer(1),car cleaner(1), graphic artist (1).
EMPLOYMENT RELATED	18	
partner's job	2	education (1) draughtswoman*(1), education(4),clerk(1), labourer(1),gas fitter(1)
join army	7	education(2) clerical
training with job	2	
mover closer to job	1	
go to new employment (includes promotion)	5	lab scientist(1), brewery service fitter(1), section manager(1),store keeper*(1), YTS(1)
transfer	1	civil servant (a.o.)
OTHER REASON	3	
housing		clerk(1)
travel		fitter(1)
family		car cleaner(1)

* table takes last employment position - immediately
prior to move these respondents were respectively,
housewife (2), unemployed.

The table shows that although 'employment-related' is
the largest single category of reason for leaving, the
majority left for reasons of a non-employment nature.

There were twenty-three, almost half the group,
without experience of employment in the Coventry area.

These people left after leaving school or college, between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. Their reasons for leaving were mainly connected with education or training, with one person leaving to be married. There was some indication of individuals 'pushed' to work elsewhere. Though not stated by respondents, of possible significance was the number of people joining the army. Joining the armed forces is sometimes connected with unemployment as it provides a means of getting a skill and an income. For example, one respondent in the survey, who changed the work he did on moving, left to join the army. Prior to leaving he had been employed for a time as a building labourer although he also had qualifications associated with an apprenticeship. In this particular example the respondent had finally joined the army as a response to being unemployed and unable to update his skills. However, the other respondents did not join the army for 'economic actor' reasons. Their reasons were either based on childhood ambitions or because the armed forces provided a way of travelling to new areas.

In addition to looking at why the 'movers' left the area as outmigrants, it is also important to outline their current economic positions, as immigrants. As outmigrants the group did not largely move because of 'push' factors, yet it may be that as

immigrants they are geographically mobile for 'pull' factors, moving as part of their career span (Jansen 1970, Hoinville 1983). Thirty-seven 'movers', almost 79% of the group, were in paid employment at the time of interview, as Table 12 shows.

Table 12

Economic status of migrants

in paid employment	37
includes:self-employed (3)	
not in paid employment	10
includes:housewife/mother (4)	
student (4)	
gvt. training scheme (1)	
unemployed (1)	

It should be noted that of the forty-seven 'mover' respondents, five have no experience of full-time paid employment. This figures consists of one housewife and four students.

Table 13

'Movers': Socio-economic group and current occupation

SEG	OCCUPATION	NUMBER OF MOVES
1	-	-
2	section manager, retail	5
3	electronic consultant	3
4	chemical engineer	2
	surgeon	1
5	teacher (x 5)	3, 6+, 2, 2, 5,
	laboratory scientist	2
	graphic designer (x2)	4, 1
	nurse (x 2)	1, 2
	RSPCA inspector	6+
	dancer	2
	civil servant (eo) (x2)	2, 2
	computer analyst	3
	assistant tax manager	3
6	clerk (x 3)	2, 3, 2
	sales assistant (x 2)	1, 6
	draughtswoman	1
	civil servant (aa)	2
7	bar worker	2
8	-	-
9	fitter, brewery service work	3
	fitter, engineering (x2)	3, 3
	fitter, carpets	1
10	embassy worker (painter)	6+
	machinist engineering	1
11	chamber maid	1
12	shop keeper	4
16	army (x5)	6+, 3, 6+, 3, 6+

Quite clearly a substantial number of the 'movers' would fit into the category of 'typical' migrants. Twenty of the group, almost half of those with employment experience are employed in professional

occupations (though officially classified as intermediate) which are known to operate within national labour markets . This is emphasised when the group's social class is considered. Only nine of the group are employed in manual work, compared with the large number of professional workers.

Table 14
'MOVERS':social class

<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>111NM</u>	<u>111M</u>	<u>1V</u>	<u>V</u>
2	18	8	5	3	1

note, this excludes those in the armed forces.

Migrants are also frequently characterised as making multiple moves. Professional workers would have to move to change jobs or as part of their career progression (Jansen,1970). Table 13 also shows that many have been geographically mobile. Those who have made the most moves have tended to be those who are or were in the army. Their moves were compulsory, as part of army policy. Others who have moved have also changed jobs more than once. There were twenty who said they have held more than one job since leaving the area. However, connecting these two variables should be treated with some caution. Firstly these were two separate questions asked of respondents and secondly, a high proportion of the 'mover' group left the area without experiencing employment, to continue their education. At that point in their lives respondents

have not begun their careers. Some would have to make a second move in order to commence employment.

The final consideration of migrant characteristics is to establish where the 'movers' now live.

Table 15

'Movers' Location

<u>location</u>	<u>number</u>
England & Wales	
Wales	1
North West	7
Yorkshire/Humberside	4
East Midlands	5
West Midlands	7
East Anglia	3
South East	9
South West	5
Ireland	1
France	1
Germany	2
Australia	1
USA	1

Over several decades this century there has been a gradual shift of population towards the South East. More recently greater employment opportunities have extended broadly within southern regions including the South West and East Anglia (Smith 1989, Devis & Southworth 1984). Over a third of the 'movers' now live in these regions. However, a substantial number have also moved north indicating both their choice and that opportunities exist in all regions.

The socio-economic characteristics of the 'movers' generally contrast sharply with those of the 'stayers'. The profiles of the 'movers' and 'stayers' show that both groups share similar family backgrounds. They are

both from families from a range of social classes, although, in common with the general social structure of the Coventry locality, there is a greater concentration of working class families, employed in junior non-manual and manual work. One noticeable difference in their family background is a greater tendency for the 'movers'' parents to be migrants too.

However, the biggest differences are between the experiences of the two groups. 'Stayers'' characteristics and experiences identify with the locality. More tend to be in those occupations requiring fewer skills. Many have experienced unemployment and/or government training schemes. Despite their experiences most have not moved away or taken action to move away from the area.

The 'movers' differ in that they have been successful at school. Amongst respondents in this group there is little indication of any experience of unemployment in the locality. Indeed there is little experience of employment in the area. They move away from the area as young people and their motivation for doing so is mainly not linked to unemployment or, for the majority, for employment. As they have gained employment experience their socio-economic characteristics locate them as generationally mobile and also as typical migrants in contemporary Britain.

Thus the surveys have both provided information as to who migrated and shown the importance of non-employment reasons for migration.

How people move

The surveys also provide an insight into how people move, or how some people are able to move. This can be gained by a further evaluation of the motives people gave for moving away from the area as well as from comments 'stayers' made concerning their thoughts of moving away [10]. A further exploration of the motives is required. It is not necessarily helpful to adopt an approach which distinguishes employment migration as 'economic' from other moves with one 'individual' and 'part of the life cycle'. These migrants indicate a more integrated approach should be adopted. For example, individuals may be motivated to move for non-employment reasons but that move may also involve a change of employment.

Looking at all the motives for the moves these young people made, one common strand is the importance of a channel or a support mechanism that facilitated the move away from the area. Examples of this include respondents moving on their marriage, to continue their education or to join the army. Each of these involve moving to a known destination, each has a support system and usually accommodation is available. Where

employment has been the motive, respondents have had jobs to go to. People did not move without having something to go to.

This can also be seen with those 'stayers' who returned to the Coventry area. For many moved for similar reasons. Even the single case of the 'runaway' respondent involved the person leaving the area to stay with relatives elsewhere. The important point is that in each case the move was made, a support mechanism was in place to facilitate that move.

Part of the difficulty in making a move over distance is the uncertainty of the action, of the unknown or unfamiliar in the destination area. Minimally, information is needed about employment and housing and, as respondents were to comment later, the availability of both are requisites before any move is seriously considered (Johnson, Salt & Wood 1974). Without the existence of the means to ease migration, then the idea of moving is restricted. Also people, as some 'stayers' displayed, have preferences about the kinds of area they would want to live. There are other, more personal but important, risks involved in leaving an area. An individual growing up in an area makes friends and establishes networks. Moving to another area makes this social and personal side of migration more difficult.

The presence of a support mechanism as part of migration is of particular importance to young people.

Not only would the move involve making a break with a familiar area and friends to go to a new and unfamiliar situation, that move frequently involves making the initial break from the parental home. Almost all the 'stayer' respondents who were single still lived in the parental home. One person in the 'stayer' group had made such a move. He was unemployed, living at his mother's home and was found employment in another area through the Job Club. He returned to Coventry because the area he had moved to was unknown, he was lonely and found it difficult to manage.

The importance of support mechanisms in making moves over distance easier, form the basis of the remaining chapters. Each chapter evaluates how individuals move within each of the main categories of motives for leaving the area. They are also concerned to find out about how migration decisions are made and what are important factors to respondents. In addition to this, one chapter evaluates the importance of is the family in enabling migration to take place. It was noted early in this chapter that a greater number of 'mover' parents were themselves migrants. It was possible therefore that the young people moved to where they had other kin. It is this hypothesis that the thesis now examines.

footnotes

[1] the aim was to establish couples living together not only those who go through formal ceremony. This is clarified in Chapter 7. It should also be noted that some respondents had changed their marital status between the survey and the time of interview. It became clear from the interviews that relationships were more complex than assumed.

[2] this includes one respondent who has returned to parental home and another whose parent has moved out.

[3] Savage however, argues that this is unevenly experienced in that opportunity will lead to upward social mobility. He illustrates this with the differences between employment opportunities in the north with the south of England.

[4] Some of the information available from SCEL is only about the actual respondent, but wherever possible relevant information is based on both parents.

[5] Where a parent has been out of employment for twelve years and here this applies only to women, these individuals have been excluded from the table. This excludes fourteen cases from 'stayer' mothers and five 'mover' mothers.

[6] This is not wholly comparable, for qualification levels have improved over the years with changes in education as outlined in the chapter. The DES figure is given for those leaving school for 1988, the 'stayer' group a) leaving school has been over two decades at least, b) excludes the 'movers'

[7] groupings that require some clarification, a) diploma, this qualification includes an arts foundation course and a dance teaching qualification. b) city and guilds, this qualification includes those who have completed a six month single course along with those who have completed a four year apprenticeship. c) the army qualifications vary but are often linked to civilian vocational and traditional academic equivalents.

[8] It is important to remember that numbers presented also reflect demographic changes with the earlier reduction in the birth rate.

[9] Increasingly during the 1980's that young people leaving school had few options, they either found a job, remained in education, or on a government scheme. Moreover, law changed excluding income support for 16/17 year olds.

[10] Unlike the 'Stayer' survey group the 'Movers' were not specifically asked if they had ever been unemployed. The 'Mover' survey was the first to be administered, its aim was to establish salient economic characteristics, the employment position prior to the move and the current employment situation. As has been stated in chapter 2 , I wanted to know who had moved, was the move connected to unemployment and finally, to establish some characteristics of the group as migrants. Provision for unemployment in the questionnaire was linked both to current employment position and to the employment position prior to moving. Finally, it was intended that second phase interviews would establish a more detailed account of employment experience. Of the forty-seven 'Mover' respondents, eleven are known to have some experience of unemployment. Five of these were unemployed whilst they lived in Coventry, including one person who found new employment the following day. The other six have been unemployed since leaving the area. This involved three people making temporary sojourns to the area, and in two cases unemployment between the survey and the follow up interview. Many of these experiences are discussed within various chapters of the thesis. The experience of unemployment and lack of opportunity was influential in the actions of one person which led to their migration.

11] respondents tended not to provide reasons why they left the area or why they were thinking about leaving the area. Respondents were saying what they had done or would want to do. This in fact provides a clearer understanding of how they were able to move.

Chapter Four

MIGRATION AND THE ROLE OF THE FAMILY

It was suggested in the last chapter that migration takes place where support mechanisms are present. Support mechanisms are important in enabling migration as they assist in minimising the risk and uncertainty connected with it. Support mechanisms provide help in familiarisation with a new area, give information required and help in getting accommodation. The last chapter also suggested that the family might provide this support mechanism. Also it was shown that 'movers' were more likely to have parents who were themselves migrants. This may have meant that extended family networks assisted in their children's migration.

This chapter evaluates the extent to which the family does provide this support. Its focus is on a study by Margaret Grieco (1989) in which it is argued that the family is central in obtaining employment both locally and more widely. Grieco argues that employment is mainly found through informal methods and that family networks play a central role. These family networks play a similar, though particularly important, role over distance, promoting migration and acting as a support mechanism.

Contrary to this it will be argued in this chapter that whilst Grieco rightly highlights many of the difficulties of job search and migration, she over emphasises the role of the family. This applies to access to information about employment both at the local level and over distance. Networks are important as a means of finding out about a different locality, about such things as housing and, where needed, about jobs but the family may not necessarily be able to provide this kind of assistance. Families are not uniform and those that formed the basis for Grieco's theory cannot be taken as typical. Nevertheless, the family is influential in migration decisions as to when to migrate and the destination.

This chapter presents those of Margaret Grieco's key arguments relevant to the migration study. This is followed by a critical analysis of the study, using the Coventry outmigrant interview data. These data are based on the follow-up interviews of twenty-four selected 'mover' respondents.

In considering the ways in which people seek and obtain employment, Grieco stresses the importance of informal methods of search. Jobs are found, she claims, primarily through family, friends, or direct application. This is in contrast to a 'formal' search relying on the use of more bureaucratic systems of advertisements and employment agencies. To support this point, examples are provided from a variety of sources including American and British labour market

studies and surveys. Each example shows that more people hear about jobs and find work through friends, family and direct contact with the firm than by responding through official channels. Direct applications are treated as informal by Grieco and are assumed to have been made on the basis of contacts with the existing workforce. Evidence from employers is presented confirming that the practice is significant regardless of the size of workplace. Another dimension is that informal networks, though widely used, are more likely to be used by manual workers. Whilst the importance of informal networks is Grieco's starting point, she also seeks to establish the central role of kin rather than non-kin in obtaining employment within local labour markets. As an informal network for finding work, she states:

"...that kinship networks operate in modern western society as both employment information systems and an employment sponsorship systems."[sic]

(p.1)

Information is transferred by kin about actual or imminent vacancies in their workplace. The availability of work is known within the workplace prior to any external advertising where this is necessary. In certain instances kin are also able to sponsor other kin for employment. This means that kin may 'speak for' other kin or may even hire others themselves.

Evidence is presented from two case studies taken from different geographical areas and industrial

sectors to substantiate this argument. The first case study is of the Aberdeen fish processing sector, using research based on ten companies employing between three and one hundred employees. Here employers were interviewed and revealed how they relied on their existing workforce to recruit new labour and how they advertised only infrequently. In this case study kin connections were shown to be intergenerational and 'tacit' skills of the job were shown to be passed on to family members.

In the second case study Grieco takes one family from the East End of London. Using a snowballing technique a kin network was established, which eventually extended to different parts of the South East region. The information provided was from 1944 to the present day. Kin in this case study were shown to overlap in a limited range of, albeit different, workplaces within the region. Although kin were employed in different sectors, most of the jobs they held were described as unskilled/semi-skilled manual positions with a few kin members in white collar positions. As in the first case study 'tacit skills' were passed between family members and through generations.

In addition to these case studies, Grieco later provides an account of similar kin networks in Corby, a further geographical location and industrial sector. This particular example is of importance in relation to migration and is referred to later in the analysis.

Having provided evidence of kin networks in different settings Grieco provides a rationale as to why employers and employees prefer to use this system for obtaining labour and jobs. For prospective employers there are a number of advantages in the service provided by kin. This system is said to be cost effective for employers, reducing the costs and time involved in advertisements and processing applications. It also provides a more effective screening mechanism as employers have access to the kinds of workers they want through existing employees. This system provides a particular kind of training as employees familiarise their kin with the job and with work discipline, sometimes at some cost to themselves. Finally, the system acts as a form of control - "...since responsibilities and obligations hold between workers so recruited...". (p39)

As well as being an advantage to employers the network of information and sponsorship also places kin at an advantage over other job seekers in competition for the available pool of jobs. Information from within the workplace grapevine is provided in advance of general knowledge of the vacancy. The presence of kin where there is a vacancy provides the means to obtain greater details of the job including any positive or negative features. Finally, in addition to passing on knowledge of the job it is also possible to pass on 'tacit' skills. Grieco states,

"Even for jobs which are formally unskilled, an applicant familiar with the specifics of production in that particular plant is likely once again to be at an advantage over other candidates." (p. 40)

So far the analysis has established arguments in support of the widespread use of informal methods of job search in local labour markets, that they have advantages to both employers and employees and also that the family play a central role in the process. Emphasising the family, Grieco argues that contacts used in informal approaches to job searches are more likely to be linked to strong rather than weak ties. Here strong ties are found in kin relations and non-kin relations are weak ties.[1] It is the relationship that counts and not, for example, the degree of contact.

In a number of situations kin networks demonstrate strong ties and act as sources of information as was indicated above. Based on her case studies Grieco argues firstly, that employers utilise kin networks. For employers, strong ties are more useful to their recruitment practices, as weak ties are too unreliable.

Secondly, despite differences in occupation status and resources, kin may still be strongly linked. Thirdly, strong ties exist where kin are geographically dispersed. Where this occurs, employment information available to both sets of kin will thus be different to others in the locality. Fourthly, where kin are dispersed and there is infrequent contact, this is not evidence of a weak tie, nor does it necessarily mean low information transfer.

Finally, the argument of strong ties is reinforced when addressing the idea of reciprocity. It is a service provided by kin and of particular importance where kin are geographically dispersed. It is kin who are more likely to pass on information and provide residential accommodation for other kin. This is based on moral grounds of duty, with no expectation of reciprocation. This demonstrates the stronger tie. It is thus more likely to be a service provided by kin than friends.

These last points are particularly important for the Coventry study, for Grieco is arguing that the strength of ties found within family networks is such that information transfer and other assistance in the search for employment can operate over distance. Indeed, it is even more important and likely to be assistance provided by kin rather than friends because of the demands imposed on the person providing the service.

As before there are advantages for both employer and employee in the service provided over distance. Individuals are advantaged for they have at least access to information of other labour markets elsewhere and possible employment opportunities. Also in some instances, kin may also provide accommodation. Employers are advantaged, in ways previously outlined, by this source of labour. Additionally, it is suggested, they may prefer to have an external pool of 'green' labour.

The combined presence of kin in another geographical location and the advantages this has for potential kin employees and employers promotes migration, and subsequent regroupment of kin. For the kin network ultimately 'chance is turned to system'. The 'system' may be created by the initial migration of an individual or small group in search of employment. These early migrants then act as a magnet to other kin job seekers providing information about work, sponsoring employment and supplying temporary accommodation. In this way the risk element in migration is reduced and moreover, it places the kin member at an advantage in terms of employment opportunity.

Not only is the system created by kin action, employers too can promote 'spearhead migration' and a 'system' of migration. In this instance employers may specifically seek to recruit over distance. Employers may choose to do this rather than recruit from local labour markets for a variety of reasons, for example, where they are seeking a similarly specialised skilled workforce, a 'green' workforce or a stable workforce. By contrast to a local workforce, migrant labour is perceived as trapped. Under these circumstances employers pursue mass labour recruitment campaign over distance, which results also in the "...recruitment of a labour force which is already connected." (p.67) After the initial migration, other kin follow, either to take up employment with the same firm or use the

migrant kin to provide information or accommodation or both.

These arguments are supported by research data based on a case study of Corby migrants. Here three families were used to show the kin networks who were or had previously been employed in the Corby steel industry. After an initial employer recruitment campaign in Peterhead the first migrants moved to Corby. Grieco considers how these networks were established. She shows that kin 'spoke for' other kin, and family reputation was important in employers' hiring decisions. Providing this assistance generated an 'obligation' to other kin. Further, it led to 'tightening the link between kinship and employment' (see pp86.95). With the threatened redundancies in Corby, kin in Peterhead provided aid in either residential accommodation or found accommodation for returning migrant kin. It is particularly these factors concerning employment assistance over distance that Grieco argues was more likely to be provided by contacts with strong ties than with contacts based on weak ties. Grieco questions why employers would rely on weak ties for sponsorship and hiring, as their preference is for informal recruitment practice based on assumed family reputation.

In providing this account of the role of kin in the social organisation of employment, Grieco attempts to show the mechanisms enabling particular groups to move in modern industrial society. Additionally she seeks to demonstrate the importance of the family to

employment in modern society. This challenges much 'mainstream sociology' in which it is suggested that the family breaks down with the separation of the employment sphere from the family and friend spheres.

To summarise, Grieco makes a number of key points in relation to the mechanisms used in job search, migration, and the family. These are that:

- + informal methods are widely used in job search
- + kin are important as they act as a source of information transfer and sponsorship to employment.
- + this system is supported and often preferred by employers.
- + this leads to chain migration, having its origins in employer direct recruitment and resulting in kin regroupment.
- + the basis of this service is located in the strong ties that exist in kin networks.

To what extent do Grieco's ideas reflect the ways individuals search for jobs, receive information about employment, and migrate as a consequence of information and family aid? How relevant is the family in that process? If these arguments do reflect the relationship between family, employment, and migration then this is what we would expect to find with the moves the Coventry migrants have made and the ways they have found employment. This section assesses these points in the light of the Coventry data.

Response to Grieco

The first point Grieco makes is that informal methods are widely used in job search at a local level. Individuals learn about and obtain jobs through contacts such as friends, family, or through direct contact with the firm. This seems to be confirmed by the Coventry experience; in the actions they take in looking for employment two-thirds (17) of the interview group said they used contacts or wrote direct to the prospective employer as part of their search strategy.

However, the similarity in job search methods identified in the two studies needs qualifying. In emphasising the importance of an informal approach to job search as part of her key concern of kin networks, Grieco implies that search systems are mutually exclusive. Individuals either use informal or formal methods. Whilst a large majority of the Coventry group did use an informal approach, this was not their whole strategy. They tended to use a combination of formal and informal methods. Additionally their experience shows that job search strategy changes over time, with experience of employment.

This last point is demonstrated by looking at the group's strategies in searching for their first employment. At this stage, more people were likely to have used formal methods of job search.

Table 1

Interview group : means of search for first job

<u>Formal</u>	<u>Mixture</u>	<u>Informal</u>
13	7	4

Over half the group (13) responded to advertisements in newspapers, visited careers offices, used trade journals, or wrote direct to the employer.[2] However, other than using the careers office, only one person used either public or private employment agencies as part of their strategy.

Nick.R., left the area to be with his girlfriend, who was commencing a training course in another part of the country. He needed to find employment in the new area, to support himself. As the area was unfamiliar to him, the only source of information about employment was through employment agencies.

The remainder of the interview group used either a combination of methods (7) or solely informal methods (4). Where individuals used the mixed approach they were primarily responding to advertisements, visiting careers offices, writing direct and hearing about work through 'word of mouth'. Finally, where individuals only used informal methods this mainly consisted of their own network, such as information from ex-school friends, or in the case of one person, employment arose from a "Saturday" job.

Explanations for their greater use of formal methods are connected with the lack of labour market experience. Their ability to search for employment is conditioned firstly, by their age and thus limited network size. Many of their friends and contacts who form part of their social networks are likely to be of a similar age and therefore similar position. The lack of a relevant network may mean that informal access to information is less likely to be available to young

people (Jenkins et al(1983), Breen (1984)). Secondly, government policy has changed more recently to direct young people through formal channels into the labour market. With increased youth unemployment since the mid-1970's policies have been introduced making a greater connection between young people still at school and the careers service. On leaving school, young people register with careers departments, including those without employment. Contact may be maintained by the careers office for up to two years after leaving school.

Since their introduction to the labour market many of the group have held a number of jobs and during this time their job search strategies have changed significantly. Respondents were asked what methods they used and would use in the future to obtain employment. Instead of formal methods dominating the search many more of the group said they would use a mixture of formal and informal methods.

Table 2

Interview group : general employment search

<u>Formal</u>	<u>Mixture</u>	<u>Informal</u>
4	19	1

Now over two-thirds (19) of the Coventry migrants have used and would continue to use a variety of sources in a job search. Although there are range of employment experiences amongst the interview group, the important point is their common approach to searching for employment, the use of a combined search approach.

As a search strategy only one person relied on informal methods of employment search and was related to the nature of his labour market.

Stephen W. is employed in London as a specialist tax adviser to foreign patrials. This service is provided only within parts of London. If he was to consider looking for similar work his search would be confined to this small labour market area. The size of his labour market area means also that he is in frequent contact with similar firms. His established employment networks would enable him to either approach other firms for employment or, he would be approached by them.

The predominantly mixed methods of job search is partly understood in their particular labour markets and the extent of employment experience. The interview group's current employment time in the labour market ranges from four years to twenty-seven years. Consequently individuals have had time to establish and develop social networks that may facilitate employment.

An analysis which assumes that job search methods are mutually exclusive fails to take account of the complexities involved in the process of getting a job. An unemployed person, for example, is usually expected to register as unemployed. Until recently, as Daniel (1970) comments this was done in the same location as the employment exchange so that it was common for the unemployed to use the exchange as part of job search. In addition to this, in order to receive state benefits during a period of unemployment, the claimant has to show s/he is looking for work. One way of demonstrating this is by using formal channels, including responding to advertisements,

visiting job centres and contacting organisations directly. Assuming the unemployed person wants employment then that individual's search will include whatever means is available to them.

Lyn F. was unable to find employment after she graduated. During her search for employment she visited a number of university careers offices. She responded to local advertisements in three different areas and also to nationally advertised jobs. In addition to these, Lyn wrote directly to a number of firms, visited job centres, and was given general information about possible opportunities by her father.

Grieco's own fieldwork acknowledges the fact that her participants used a mixed job search strategy, rather than an exclusively informal one in the search for employment. The formal search is understated. In her account of the Corby migrants we are told of the wide kin network that exists and has existed in the past. The stress is on the informal means whereby members of kin are assisted into jobs. We are also informed [3] that all of those in the network prior to their migration had used their employment exchange, which it has already been established is a formal channel into employment. Grieco also says: "My evidence, ... suggests that there is an overlap between the kin-and-friends category and the state-employment agencies category." (p.121)

Earlier it was said that whilst it was common to use a combination of search strategies this was experienced differently within the interview group and with Grieco's findings. It is necessary now to draw out some of these differences, in terms of the degree of

assistance that been given and at what point in the process of job search assistance is used.

It is important firstly, not to conflate 'hearing about a job' with 'getting a job'[5]. Some surveys, such as GHS (1983), are based on how people learn about job vacancies. Woods (1986) research on employer recruitment found that employers had several channels for making vacancies known, though they often relied more heavily on informal channels. However, this did not lead automatically to employment. Employers then used a range of filters, usually this included an interview, as part of their selection process. Moreover they are procedures controlled by employers. The ability for informants or contacts to bypass these procedures and obtain employment is less likely.

Amongst the Coventry group, many had contacts who could provide information about employment but it was unusual for contacts to be in a significantly influential position to obtain employment for them. Where this was the case, this was in very specific circumstances, where for example individuals were 'head hunted' or the employment was with a very small business.

It was also clear from comments made by the Coventry group that though they tended to use a combination of job search methods, how they approached job search varied. They tended to rely more heavily on one system than another. Some people said they would commence their search using formal methods, such as newspapers and trade journals. This would be followed

by contacting an informant at the prospective employing organisation. The informant, who was usually known to the searcher, would provide more in-depth information about the job, the particular organisation and local facilities. This is in accord with what Grieco describes as one of the advantages of using informal methods. Others in the interview group would approach contacts in the first instance to explore the range of opportunities and then either make a direct approach to a firm or make contact as a response to an advertisement. Their job search strategies are shown to be highly elaborate, as the example below illustrates.

Bob H. is a brewery service worker. His job is based around a specific geographical area and involves visiting and servicing different establishments. The nature of his job means he now has many contacts throughout the brewery industry. Bob's search for a job would entail contacting these different organisations to establish what opportunities there were open to him. At the same time he would also consider the opportunities available in his trade journal. His final choice would then be decided on the best option open to him.

Wendy S. is a teacher and her search for employment has changed since she first qualified. As she decided to remain in the same area, she was given assistance by her college. Now, Wendy has built up her own networks and in addition has access to a variety of information sources. If she were to seek employment elsewhere she would firstly, find out about the locality from her contacts. This would include obtaining general information about the area as well as the locality's educational policies. If the move had not arisen as a response to an advertisement in a national journal, then Wendy would contact the particular locality's education department and obtain their internal newsheet.

So far it has been established that informal methods of job search are important but that this process is complex and will form part of a mixed approach to finding employment. The ability to use informal methods is reliant on networks and these in turn have to be developed over time. Finally, within this the balance between the different search methods will vary according to what is accessible to the searcher.

Grieco's next point is that kin play a key part in the dual systems of employment information transfer and employment sponsorship. On this key issue there is no similarity between her findings and the Coventry interview group experience. Grieco suggested that not only were kin likely to assist in obtaining employment but also employers supported and often preferred to employ family members on the basis of them being a reliable source of labour. Though many of the Coventry group were assisted by contacts to obtain employment they were not family contacts. Of the whole of the Coventry group only one individual received any kind of direct assistance from family contacts in obtaining employment.

In this case Neil F. was seeking employment after leaving school at eighteen. He unsuccessfully applied for jobs in sectors typical for those of his school leaving age, such as banking and insurance office work. (Coventry careers service 1989). He had responded to advertisements and applied directly to firms. He also applied three times to join the civil service but each time was unsuccessful. However, his mother, employed at the local DSS offices, was informed by a friend in another department of casual employment becoming available. He applied, was successful, and was eventually made a permanent employee.

It should also be noted that this example also includes a 'friend' who initiated the information transfer. This is another point which is not distinguished in surveys. Friends, acquaintances, and family are commonly grouped as the informal method.

Where there was any indication from interviewees of assistance, this occurred in special circumstances and tended to be more in the form of advice and encouragement. Parents were more likely to offer advice about possible employment areas rather than specific vacancies. One notable example is where a young person had become unemployed and her mother left the local newspaper open on the kitchen table each morning with all the office jobs encircled.

Clearly there is a sharp contrast between the two sets of data. Why should there be such disparity? The case studies presented by Grieco concentrate largely on employer recruitment practices not on how workers find employment. This does not present a complete picture of how her worker participants searched for jobs and the full extent of their kin networks. Three of her four case studies share this focus on how the employer recruits: Aberdeen, Luton and Corby. Although in the latter study, consideration is given to both workers and employers, what is shown are different employers' preferences in selecting employees.

In two of the case studies, Luton and Corby, employers were recruiting directly from other areas and were seeking 'bulk' labour. This particular

recruitment practice is of particular importance in facilitating migration which Grieco understates. Bulk recruitment is a fairly infrequent event connected with new industry. Moreover, new industry is more likely to have substantial screening processes in place.

Direct recruitment is also a formal method of recruitment. Employers recruit directly by advertising and visiting job centres when they require specific labour skills (Woods, 1986). Finally, direct recruitment, initially, provides the mechanism enabling migration to take place and not the family. It initiates the 'spearhead' which may lead to a kin migration chain. Information and access to employment in these circumstances are controlled through the employer. There are many examples of immigrants to Coventry pre-war, and in the immediate decades after, being directly recruited from their areas of origin (Hodgkinson, (1970), Newbold(1972)).

As a result of focussing on employers in three of the case studies the range of networks is not established and is obscured. Evidence is given about employer acquiescence and even preference for kin related employment. Details are provided of the existence of employment based kin networks, though not the extent of the kin group outside these industries and areas. In another case study, of the East End of London, this time based on the participants' experiences, evidence is given of networks over time and place. What is not given here are the occasions where there are no kin connections in the workplace.

So the full extent of the kin group is not known. Grieco acknowledges in this case study that it is only a partial network (her ref. 11 p.190).

Even where kin are employed in the same workplace, this does not necessarily mean that other kin have transferred information or sponsored employment. It is possible for kin to find their own employment and not be aware of other kin in the same workplace.

One of the Coventry interview group, Bob H., found employment in a medium sized engineering firm. He discovered some time after he had an uncle who also worked there. " I found I'd an uncle there. I didn't know at the time. You know it's one of those uncles you see very, very occasionally, you never really take any notice."

With the presentation of these case studies Grieco does not fully reflect different family situations in relation to employment networks. Rather what is shown are situations where kin networks are present. Thus what Grieco achieves is a presentation of a uniform family. A major factor in the disparity between her study and the present is the distinctiveness of the family as portrayed by Grieco. With limited exceptions, the families are the same, they are non-problematic. This applies equally over the generations. Her families are working class and all employed in similar kinds of work. They provide mutual support and aid to other kin in the form of employment, 'tacit' skills, accommodation and, are all unquestionably strongly tied.

In sharp contrast, the Coventry migrants show that families are not always uniform. The parents and

children tend to have very different occupations from their parents, as the last chapter illustrated. Occupations amongst the Coventry families are clearly very different. This was shown to be different, not only between parents and their outmigrant children, but also between parents, parents and children, and between children.

Given the differences in occupations within these families the extent to which 'tacit skills' could be passed on is questionable. However, information about jobs, and sponsorship of work will be transferred if the 'informant' knows the recipient is able to do the work. This also applies to passing on of skills. This means that the job will either require few skills to be learnt, or that the individual is familiar with the work. Where there are such differences in occupations, as is the case with the Coventry group, the passing on of tacit skills is less likely to have occurred. Many in the group have received formal training for their occupations, it is thus not surprising that the parents have not provided assistance in obtaining employment.

In highlighting the differences between the two studies the intention is not to present one study as 'correct' and the other as 'incorrect'. Each has its specific focus. Grieco has clearly shown the importance of informal networks in obtaining employment within local and national labour markets and the role

families can play within that. However, her analysis of the role of the family in employment change is not based on a general consideration of the family but rather on the basis of families in the same or broadly similar occupations or workplaces. As she is attempting to generalise from such a narrow focus Grieco does not account for different family experiences. The Coventry group show that not all families act in this way, even when social backgrounds are similar. Grieco's analysis of kin networks and employment chance is not applicable to the Coventry group experience.

Many of the parents of the Coventry group are unable to assist their children due to inter generational social mobility between them. This is partly due to their encouragement. Academic achievement has led to some of the young group obtaining jobs requiring skills and knowledge which their parents do not share. Even if parents wanted to assist in their children's job search they have no role to play. The example below illustrates this.

When asked about parental assistance, in his chosen occupation as a chemical engineer Ian W. commented "...my dad's an accountant, my mum's a telephonist, they've got no idea what's involved."

For the individual worker, just who is used as a contact in job search will depend on who can provide useful information. Woods (1986) makes this point in his research. Employers recruiting through informal

channels accepted the employee contact's recommendation. This usually meant the employee had previously worked with the person they were recommending and that the person had the level of skills they wanted (pp.111-112).

Who can be used as a contact will in turn relate to the kind and size of networks established. It will not necessarily include kin, or be kin that provides the information. In the case of Neil F presented earlier, the initial information came through the friend of his mother.

In another example, see ref 6, Bob H. found employment in the same sector as that of his parents. His parents did not provide assistance in obtaining employment, rather their employment enabled him to have direct contact with potential employers.

Breen (1984) points to some of the complexities of finding employment for the young, he states

"The degree to which an entrant to the labour market 'inherits' his or her father's or mother's occupational level depends not only upon what 'human capital' he or she possesses, but also on the available job opportunities." (p. 133)

An important consideration in job search strategy is the operation of labour markets. As labour markets operate in different ways in different circumstances, then the methods individuals used will vary. Where labour markets operate at a local level, usually information and networks will operate at this level. Whereas those individuals whose labour markets operate at a national level will search for employment and

have information networks at this level.

There are some labour markets, however, which straddle the two. Those individuals in mass occupations, such as teachers, routinely have access to information and substantial networks at a local level. They also have access to information and contacts at a national level.

Valerie McK. commented it would be easy finding out about jobs and had many contacts. At the local level, within the region, she would probably have contacts at the particular school, gained through courses and meetings she has attended. She has contacts in the education departments and in the advisory service, which would mean she could gain an insight into the particular schools. To find out the availability of local teaching jobs she would have first looked at the different local authorities' circulars and 'Bulletin'. If she were to look nationally she would look in the 'TES'. As many of the courses and conferences she has attended are national, Valerie now has many contacts in different authorities. In addition to all of these sources Valerie has maintained contact with her tutor from college and would also seek his advice, as she has done in the past.

Labour markets are not static, they may change gradually over time or fluctuate with economic change. Employment opportunities will be affected as a consequence of this when, for example, the change involves high unemployment. In this situation, it has been argued (Woods 1986, Jenkins et al 1983) networks become more important in job search. This requires, minimally, having access to relevant employment networks and contacts who are, moreover, in employment. At an early stage of employment experience some of the interview group faced difficulty in gaining employment. This was in part because they had not

established a relevant network of contacts. With the exception of Neil F. already given, parents or other kin were unable to provide information about employment vacancies. Three students on graduating from higher education were also unable to find employment. Their unemployment is also partially explained by the particular economic period, all three graduated when there was either mass general unemployment or, as in the case of one Helen J., a teacher, a reduction in the demand within the particular employment sector. Although fluctuations in the demand for particular labour is important, to maximise employment opportunity it is important to have as broad a network as possible. Establishing a broad network of contacts takes time and involves a number of factors. Individuals may be in jobs where outside contacts are made, this may be local or over a wider geographical area. A number of the Coventry interview group (5) are employed in occupations which take them to other firms. This may provide a source of information about employment opportunities through the contacts made in the different firms. It may even lead to 'sponsorship'. Those in the study who are so employed commented on the job offers they had received.

Sue P. is a computer analyst. As part of her job she has to visit firms (projects) for a period of time to assess their particular computer programme requirements. In the process of working within the organisation she becomes familiar to the firm. The last firm she worked with offered her a job.

Nationally operating labour markets may provide the means for some people to extend their network of friends and employment contacts. Friendships or contacts made through employment may move and maintain contact. Friendships are formed from the workplace as well as from other social sources. Eighteen of the group had friends and contacts nationally and for some internationally, whom they could call upon for information or assistance. It was a point made by some 'Stayers' who commented upon their motives for moving, explaining how they would move and where they would move to. In the interview group,

Susan W. for instance commented that friends made through her husband's work were now spread between Scotland and Bristol. They made regular contact with each other, visited one another and had provided information about opportunities in the different areas.

Caron S. made the point that in working for the civil service employees were encouraged to take part in in-service training courses each year. These were nationally organised. In this way she has formed a number of friendships and extended her network of contacts should she wish to move. This was how she came to obtain her current position.

Finally, non-family, relevant contacts are made prior to participation in the labour market. For those who continued in education long lasting friendships can be established. Again it is a situation in which people may be part of national labour markets, retain friendships, which provide access to information about other areas. This is particularly pertinent where education is also vocational. It was particularly

commented on by the female graduates.

This last general point raises another key issue in Grieco's study, where it is argued that kin networks operate at a distance and promote migration. It has already been demonstrated that some groups of workers have alternative contacts linked to employment and/or friends who are able to provide information about employment. It has also been shown that these contacts and thus networks operate over distance as well as at a local level. Once more parents are not the providers of information, they are based upon employment contacts and friends. They have been established through friends in education, they have been formed through contacts made as part of work, they have been established from friends made at work as well as through social activities. Through geographical mobility and over a period of time the group have independently established and expanded their networks of employment contacts, contacts who are able to provide useful information.

Migration takes place for many reasons. For Grieco migration is taken only as job related. Moreover, she emphasises the economic 'push' factors such as unemployment or threatened unemployment as main reasons for movement. There are other reasons why individuals want to move, or feel they need to move, which are not related to jobs. For example, after divorce one or both partners may prefer to move away. Conflict is often a feature in families, particularly

with young adults. In conducting the earlier surveys it was clear that conflict had led to difficulties in parent/child relations. In Chapter 3 it was noted that that a 'Stayer' respondent had 'runaway' after arguments with her mother and went to live with relatives in London for a short period of time.

However, an important point is raised in her discussion in that the existence of kin elsewhere, it is suggested, may act as a magnet to those who consider leaving an area. The act of leaving one area and going to another area would involve risk and uncertainty without knowledge of the opportunities of the area and without knowing anyone. Though there are situations where people do move without any security at all, such as the homeless, most people do not just leave an area, for moving is an emotional and material risk. The key point in Grieco's study is that her participants were provided with a mechanism which facilitated their migration.

However, there are other mechanisms that facilitate migration and it should be remembered that not all migration is for employment. In their initial moves away from the locality the Coventry migrants were more likely to move for other reasons than employment.

Table 4

Main reasons for leaving the Coventry locality.

education	17
employment	15
(includes training)	
marriage	9
to be with parent/partner	4
others	2
total	47

Given the greater number of non-employment reasons for their first moves we would not expect to find the regrouping of Coventry kin in the way Grieco suggests. The data shows that despite a number of parents originating from other areas these migrants did not move to those areas. Of the family groups (22) thirteen contained at least one parent originating from another area. All the children said they did not have relatives in the area of their first destination. One person did say she had selected the particular university partly because her father was from the region and had visited the general area. Further, with the exception of one case, no other kin have subsequently moved to regroup with these migrants.

The exception here concerns the initial migration of one family member, Rob A., to Liverpool. After frequent visits by his parents and sister, who was also a participant in the interviews, the family decide to move to the area. Their move has not been for employment, rather they wanted to remain close as a family. As important, the area was perceived as friendly and being close to the coast it reminded them of their original locality.

So far no direct connection between family, employment and migration has been shown. Instead, it has been argued that in terms of access to employment it is more important to look at who is able to provide useful information. Nevertheless the 'family' is influential in migration in other, more diffuse, ways.

As part of growing up young people want more freedom and greater independence from their parents.

(Hutson & Jenkins, 1989). For some, education provides the means to achieve that. Those in the whole Coventry survey group who went onto higher education (seventeen) selected institutions away from their locality. Not one of those interviewed who left to continue their education (nine) would consider applying to local institutions. They were united in the reasons they had not done so. If they selected local institutions they would have felt obliged to remain at home. Each person said they wanted distance and independence from their family. They did not necessarily apply to the furthest institutions but just far enough away to achieve freedom from parental influence and make their own decisions.

Valerie Mck said when deciding where she would apply had used a compass to measure a distance of fifty miles.

For young people in general this kind of independence gained from leaving home often does not come until marriage Hutson & Jenkins (1989). This was the case for many, in the 'stayer' survey and is often seen as the first independent move in life cycle literature (Clark 1985, Devis & Southworth 1984, Kosinski & Prothero 1975).

The demand for independence from parents should not be viewed simply as individuals acting in isolation or evidence of weak ties. Almost all of the interview group stated they were very close to their parents. Moreover, some of the same young people needed their parents assistance at a later stage. A number of the

group (six), some of them graduates, returned to their parents' home temporarily as unemployed; with another (Andrew B) saying he would if he did not have employment to go to on leaving the army. The parental home in these instances provided a temporary sojourn in a crisis. Grieco showed unemployment to be a situation leading to regroupment. In contrast those young people in this situation definitely saw the situation as temporary. This was not due to conflict or weak ties, but rather to the importance of establishing their independence. Another source of family influence arises out of consideration in decisions about migration. Such decisions are often viewed as being based on a rational cost/benefit approach, ignoring one important variable, the family.

Consideration of the family may well include one generation taking account of another generation as part of their migration decision making. This group commonly (fourteen) commented that access to their parents was important in decision making. Their concerns were with either the age and health of parents or with the ability to visit them as often as they would like. In many instances these concerns would prevent the 'adult' children moving further away from their families. Some were now wanting in fact to move a little closer.

The reproductive family is another source of influence in migration. Decisions to move are not necessarily taken on the basis of one individual's decision, on losing his or her job. A number of the

Coventry group are now married. Decisions and considerations about moving will be made as a family. There are stronger constraints against moving than there are pushes to move as is shown in Grieco's analysis. In many households both partners are in employment. The unemployment of one partner and thoughts about moving would involve consideration of the wishes of both to move and opportunities for both. Both partners have preferences about areas and particular environments they wish to live in as well as the facilities available. Both sets of parents will be a factor in that decision. Finally, where there are children their interests are considered such as their friends, their age and education and their social activities.

These were all areas of concern raised by the Coventry group, and were strong influences in their lives when considering moving. There is not migration in the way presented by Grieco, either as 'spearhead migrants' inducing further migration from the area of origin or induced to move by 'spearhead migrants' to a new work location. (Grieco, p.51)

Families can be diverse in the occupations they have, yet also be close. Families can be separated, and still be close. As well as being a source of strength the family can also be a source of much conflict. The family takes a variety of forms, is highly influential and acts in a variety of ways. It is not a uniform structure.

footnotes

[1] Grieco's arguments address disagreements with another study, that of Granovetter. Grieco says kin relationships are strong which is demonstrated in assistance given. This not found in Granovetter's study of white collar workers. He argued that weak ties form a bridge thus providing outside information not commonly shared by strongly tied group. For Granovetter strong ties are based on frequency of contact not necessarily kin.

[2] This is taken as formal in that writing directly to an employer is a recognised procedure in particular situations. Include here individuals writing to employers about apprenticeships, graduate students writing to employing bodies where either undertaken placement - sandwich course, teacher training, or as a consequence of 'milk round'. None of these individuals made an application on the basis of personal contacts, or hearing about jobs. Further this method of job search is now promoted by formal organisations connected to employment such as departments in the Training Agency.

[3] see pp87-88, pp119-121.

[4] it is not possible to evaluate the arguments concerning employer recruitment practices and preferences for kin related employees as this was not part of the Coventry data.

Chapter Five

MIGRATION AND THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION

It was noted in earlier chapters that migration is often connected with educational characteristics. The connection made is between an individual's occupation and its associated educational qualifications. Thus, it is assumed that those who possess higher qualifications and are in professional occupations also make multiple migrations due to their 'spiralist' or career characteristics. (Watson, 1964) Discussion is less likely to be concerned with the process of education of how or where those higher qualifications were gained. This is of importance as it is frequently the case that the acquisition of education is itself the motive for migration. This was shown in Chapter Three to be the most likely reason for respondents leaving the area. Watson himself notes, albeit in passing (p.153), that education may lead to an individual's migration.

This chapter, attempts to show how and why education contributes to the promotion of migration and how education acts as a channel for some young people to leave a locality. Furthermore, education is shown to play an important part in the migration process, by providing a support mechanism which facilitates an individual's migration.

Higher Education

Higher educational institutions in England and Wales recruit students at a national level rather than solely at a local level. This is demonstrated clearly in Table 1, which shows that over two thirds of undergraduate students study outside of their own regions. Within the West Midlands region, 71% of students who originate in the region leave it to pursue their studies. A local example is Mid-Warwickshire

Table 1

Undergraduate students in England & Wales: domicile region and region of study.

<u>region origin</u>	<u>study within region</u>	<u>outside region</u>	
	number	number	percent.
North	8.1	14.6	64
Yorks& Humber.	12.8	24.8	66
E.Midlands	6.5	23.3	78
E. Anglia	2.0	12.0	86
G. London	29.9	29.8	50
Rem. S. East	26.2	68.2	72
S.West	9.2	28.4	75
W. Midlands	12.1	29.7	71
N. West	22.8	35.4	61
Wales	10.8	15.2	58
	total 140.4	total 281.4	

numbers in thousands.

Source DES figs for 1987. in Regional Trends 24, 1989

College of FE. In 1989, two hundred and seventy-seven students, 79% of those with places in institutions of higher education, went to study outside the West

Midlands Region (Leamington Review, 1990). This recruitment pattern was even more strongly reflected in the 'mover' and 'stayer' surveys, as Table 2 below shows.

Table 2

Studying in higher education :Survey groups,
one hundred and fifty-nine respondents

	<u>in Coventry TTWA</u>	<u>study elsewhere</u>
MOVERS		
N= 17	0	17
STAYERS	1	2
N= 3*		
	1	19

* This figure excludes two individuals who left to continue higher education. One dropped out after a year, the other returned after two to three weeks. Both left the area.

These figures highlight the importance of education as a channel for migration. This is shown more precisely in the locations chosen by the nine interviewees who left the locality to study.

Canterbury	Doncaster	Huddersfield
Leeds	Liverpool	London
Loughborough	Manchester	Newcastle

fig.1 location of study: interviewees.

All the group selected institutions away from the Coventry area. To emphasise the migratory effect of higher education it should be noted that of this group only one person made an application to Coventry. Caron

S. included Coventry as an option as the course was good and as a safety precaution against being unsuccessful elsewhere. However, she hoped she would not have to rely on that option.

The decision to continue in higher education does not in itself necessitate migration. There are in the Coventry locality several institutions providing a broad range of courses. Yet, with the exception of the one person mentioned above, none considered applying to local institutions.

Thus, one of the questions this chapter addresses is why do young people choose to enter this migratory mechanism, when it will mean making a break with home, friends, and area? Before that, however, the chapter examines how students enter the migratory mechanism through education. Given the range of broad experiences of prospective students between seventeen and nineteen, the sources of influence will most likely have been drawn from school, the family, and from their peers. Each of these areas is considered through the interview data [1] to see the extent to which interviewees felt that each encouraged and prepared them, as school students, for entry into higher education and migration.

School

Schools, it has been argued, (Musgrove 1963, Turner 1960, Byrne 1974) shape the future actions and direction of young people in relation to academic achievement and subsequent employment. Their influence in encouraging the young to migrate through higher education arises out of the selection of the most able few. Writing in the 1960's Musgrove (1963) emphasised the importance of the educational system to migration and in particular the grammar school system. He stated that,

"The school is a threat to the growing
child's ties with family and neighbourhood."
(p.88)

and

"Today selection for a grammar-school education
is selection for a probably migratory future.
The modern grammar school is an agency for
collecting local talent from its region and
redeploying it nationally and even
internationally." (p.89)

Musgrove's argument was that the grammar school's system, its structure and its ethos, operated to produce its academic elite. During their time at school the selected elite were encouraged to succeed academically. With the promotion of academic achievement and ambition the selected are prepared for entry into higher education.

School provision has changed since the time of Musgrove's writing. A persistent criticism of schools was that the system of selectivity for grammar school

education was heavily biased in favour of children from middle class families (Mortimore & Mortimore, 1986; Banting, 1985). This led to the creation or evolution of the comprehensive school system which was more or less completed, with some exceptions, in 1977. It was hoped that a comprehensive educational system would develop the talents of all school students and would lead to greater occupational choices for school students and to greater social mobility. (Turner, 1960) However, studies continue to show that little has changed in the academic achievement of children from different social classes both at school and in entry into higher education. (Halsey, 1980; Rutter et al, 1979; Douglas, 1983) In 1982, almost 72% of university accepted candidates were from social classes 1 and 11 (University Central Council of Admissions, 1982).

Given the persistence of differential achievement and entry to higher education, it is also possible that selectivity has also persisted. Schools may continue to select the academically able, encourage their achievement and subsequently promote migration, as Musgrove argued. The extent to which this was reflected in the interview group's experiences, is now examined.

It has been shown in Chapter 3 that a high proportion of the 'movers' were academically well

qualified. This gives initial support to the view of education providing the qualifications to migrate. Further, within the interview group, all but one reported some streaming within their school, which again supports the claim of schools as selective institutions, sponsoring an elite.

Members of the interview group commented:

" All subjects right from the first year based on results you got in junior school."... "Once in a group then there was very little movement between them." (Caron S.)

"We weren't supposed to be (streamed), but you knew you were." (Marion T.)

"For the first three years it wasn't and then for the last two years ... it was streamed into an 'O' level group and a 'CSE' group on the basis of what they thought you would do, not what you wanted to do." (Neil F.)

Bob H. had attended school in which all subjects had been streamed and then for the third year "You were split into sections again, like the ones with something about them, those that were mediocre and those who were lacking. We were in 'Technical Boys', so I suppose were mediocre."

But selection for higher education is not simply the consequence of streaming. Part of the process includes positive promotion and encouragement, along with the school's ethos. Here it is necessary to distinguish between the private sector where the function of the school was said by interviewees attending these schools to be to maximise individual academic achievement and the state sector which,

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were coached for academic success. Without exception everyone took nine or ten 'O' levels. Even the subjects taken were directed to satisfy traditional university preferences, rejecting subjects which developed individual manual skills. Furthermore, they were then 'expected' to stay on for the 6th form and take three or four 'A' levels.

"...If you don't go into the sixth form you're in a minority. If you don't go on to higher education you're in a minority." (Nick R.)

Tim D. pointed out that of his class of thirty, 95% stayed on for sixth form. Angela G. (dance school) said that most continued into the 6th form to take 'A' levels and teaching qualifications. Apart from the student at the dance school others said they were then 'expected' to go on to enter university. It was a minority that did not. With the ex-direct grant schools the ultimate achievement was for a placement at Oxford or Cambridge universities. [4]

Streaming in the independent schools was limited in the sense of streaming for ability. There was a 'fast stream' with all other classes organised in a non-selected basis. Students were in competition with each other. This occurred to the extent that students knew their academic position not just in their class but also within the school.

These schools promoted academic achievement in a variety of ways including encouraging individuals to conform to school aims: teachers embodying academic

success, collective student and peer group pressure (norms/homework), and if this failed punishment such as detention. Finally, school students were encouraged, through the idea of their schools' tradition, to see themselves as an elite.

State schools

Most of the interview group, eighteen, went to schools in the state sector, the majority of which were comprehensive. However, in contrast with independent schools, schools in the state sector were more problematical. None of the interviewees attending these schools could describe their school's aims or ethos. Whilst independent schools were said to have the sole aim of maximising academic achievement, they also tend to have the students and the infrastructure with which to achieve this. Schools in the state sector have a broad student population, with different abilities and aims. There are differences between schools and their evolution to being comprehensive. As Ball (1981) comments, "...despite the growth in the number of comprehensive schools since 1965, it is still the case that no consensus is emerging... 'Comprehensive means different things to different people.' "(1981p.4). Finally one of the important aims in introducing comprehensive education was to move away from a system judged solely on examination results (Rogers, 1986). Consequently state schools are more complex and less

likely to have the same clear aims as the independent schools and therefore not have the infrastructure to achieve them.

According to interviewees, their schools established their 'elites' through streaming. Gaining academic qualifications was the policy aim of some schools.

"It had a reputation for good qualifications and the type of person it threw out at the end was quite good." (Neil F)

Andrew B. commented that headmaster was a very strong influence in the school. He believed everyone should have qualifications, however this was limited to CSE no-one in the school could go beyond this. (taken from notes)

Many were critical of their educational experience. Most, fifteen of the eighteen, made some criticisms of their school. Their criticisms were based around two issues which were not wholly disconnected. Firstly, that schools did not draw out the best from individuals, secondly in a few instances there was a lack of control.

Lyn F. "not impressed with it at all as a school. If you were the sort of person who enjoyed working and you could get on under your own steam you were alright but if you were someone who wasn't particularly gifted and there seemed to be a lot of girls in the bottom stream, because a) they didn't want to work and b) because nobody made them...That's how discipline seemed to go out of the window because of that."

Susan W. " I took the clerical side. Unfortunately I was put in a class with ... half a dozen girls who were very rowdy who tended to rule the roost and in the end they did rule the roost. It was a situation where not many teachers would take the

form. It did start off as rowdies but had a lot of student teachers... and I think a lot of people lost heart. We'd come back after term to another teacher. It got out of hand."

This kind of criticism of their schooling led two others, Wendy and Kate, to take private extra-tuition to help them gain the qualifications they wanted.

In independent schools, school students were encouraged through the school's ethos rather than from individual teachers. This contrasts, with the state sector with most interviewees saying that encouragement came from individual teachers. This comment was made whether or not interviewees had done well at school or whether or not they themselves felt they had been encouraged by teachers at school. Two of the remaining three said they were all encouraged to get qualifications, with the last person commenting that it was not noticeable whether they were neglected or encouraged. (taken from notes AB) The fifteen who commented that encouragement was dependent on individual teachers tended to qualify this with the statement that students often had to show an initial interest in the subject before teachers responded.

Neil F. had also said when asked about motivating that: " They encourage people who showed signs of wanting to do something. Some people were just given up on as bad cases."

"If you showed interest they showed it back."
(Bob H)

Despite their criticisms of school, some indicated that pupils could be 'successful' if they were motivated and worked hard. Thus if they gained qualifications it was because of their individual hard work but if they did not, it was due to their individual failings.

"It's really up to the pupil to really make as much effort as he can himself." Rob A. commented after saying that teachers did not encourage but they faced a difficult task trying to motivate and teach with 30 in class.

"As far as I was concerned if I worked hard I would get there...I always assumed it would be alright as long as I worked at it." (Wendy S.)

Wendy S., who knew she wanted to be a teacher, had also expressed criticisms of her school when it became comprehensive and because of the large class sizes.

Selection of the 'elite' also involved students' own perceptions and acceptance that such a division based on academic ability existed in their school. This has been partly explained as one of the consequences of streaming in schools (Hargreaves 1967, Ball 1986). Ball argues that the "...effect of streaming is to produce a polarized social structure among pupils..." (p.88) in that they are more likely to choose friends from their own stream.

It is, moreover, reinforced in friendships and alliances made at school as sub-cultures or as in Willis's study of non-academic 'lads', a counter-culture (1977). This polarization is based on relative

academic position and interest within the school. Within these extremes the school student is either pro-school or anti-school (Carter 1962, Willis 1980, Finn, 1984) developing hostile attitudes towards those of the other extreme (Ball, 1986).

Sue P, "It was very much an attitude, there'll be a certain amount of effort put in the beginning when you started the school, but if you didn't want to know they would do all they could to stop them interfering with those who did." Sue P. commented, when asked if her friends were doing similar things, "...I think it's partly just kids, because if you're clever at school and they're not, you just get called a swot and always get tormented. I think you just stick together. People who do appear bright and do get on well at school, the others somehow make fun of that and you stick with your own. So you don't feel as though you've got to defend yourself I suppose."

Carolyn A, couldn't wait to leave school from an early point in secondary school, said that her friends all felt the same: "There was our little group, well large group. I knew nearly everybody there and there were the what I called the snobs, but that's kids' stuff I got on with all sorts." Carolyn A. also confirmed that school students separate off into groups: "the brainy, the dunces, and the average."

Andrew B. (from notes) said at his school everyone took CSE's and nothing else. He wanted to complete an apprenticeship and realised he would need to get qualifications to do this. Moreover, his friends also wanted to do this. He knew of one or two who went to a sixth form college but they were not friends of his, they did not have the same shared interests, because a fundamental difference between them stemmed from the fact that those who continued in education had academic interests. In fact Andrew laughed when asked if he had friends who continued in education.

Once having been selected through streaming and self-selection through the school's sub-culture,

students' futures become strongly determined at an early stage in secondary education. Amongst the interview group there is a clear division between those who do stay on into the sixth form and those who leave. Those who remain (eight) did not at any time consider leaving school at fifteen/sixteen at all, whereas those who left at fifteen/sixteen (ten) did not think at all about staying on and could not wait to leave. Their reasons were largely based on dislike of school.

Of those who did stay on their reasons included:

Helen J. "Although there were traces of the old technical school in it, it was very grammar school, in that, I suppose it was just accepted. You never questioned that if you got 5 O levels you did A levels. If you didn't, you were failures and got a job. If you got 2 A levels you went onto higher education."

Wendy S, when asked if school had been geared to achievement, commented: " That was why I wanted to go there. From an early age I had an ambition to be a teacher. I knew that I needed the academic qualification for it and at that time, the attitude towards Foxford (her local comprehensive) wasn't very good ...it was not having very good results examwise... I either wanted to go to Barrs Hill or Blue Coats which at the time had a very good name... I thought it was going to be work orientated..."

Similarly those who did not stay on have at an early point in secondary school taken that decision to leave. Some become increasingly dissatisfied about being there. Martin T and Carolyn A amongst others made the comment they did not stay on at school with their decisions being made at an early point in their school life.

Martin T "...I was more interested in sport, that ruled my life. I knew that if I wanted to study O levels and A levels, that it meant you had to do a lot of schooling work and a lot of studying and that wasn't my idea of having a good time at the time . . . I thought if I go along and tow the line and get some qualifications.... to start an apprenticeship."

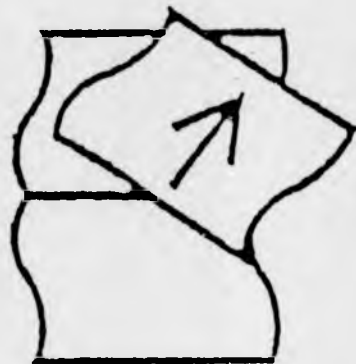
"My view at fifteen and sixteen was that I can't wait to leave...I think that was from the second year actually." (Carolyn A).

Andrew B had had enough of school and wanted to earn some money.(taken from notes of interview) These views, taken together with those experiences already given, make some of the differences clear. By the fourth year many young people had had enough of school and wanted to earn money. They disliked school and preferred to gain other qualifications such as apprenticeships, with specific jobs and training in mind.

Even external circumstances do not alter this situation. Coles' (1986) research into young people leaving school during a period of unemployment also found that by sixteen many of his respondents wanted to leave school even though there was little prospect of work. In the Coventry study, some interviewees left school during the period of high unemployment described in earlier chapters. This did not deter them from their decision to leave school. Four students were at school at the time when unemployment was high, especially for young people. None were motivated to work harder or considered staying on to complete the sixth form. Carolyn A. and her brother Rob., whose parents had

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For the interview group, whatever assistance was given came predominantly from schools' careers provision. Once more interviewees' accounts were critical. In the worst situation, two careers teachers 'lost' their student's university application forms thereby losing a potential place. In the best situation two students applying for particular courses were given strong advice about their applications that would assist their chance of selection.

There were nine who entered higher education and all made some criticism of the careers service provision, though two who felt advice given to them was good. Criticisms of the service was largely based on its failure to advise on the range of career possibilities.

Sue P.: "It was a case of knowing what you wanted and they would supply the information. There was no attempt to make individuals think more widely, or an ability to provide guidance." Sue had been encouraged to aim high by her headteacher but said of the careers advice: "We looked into it ourselves, we knew as much as they did."

Heleh J: "It might have been the school in that they were keen on Lancaster and York universities and tended to follow that through."

The group's accounts of their experiences at school show that independent schools fit well with Mulgrove's theory. The ethos and culture of these schools was for academic success and future university academic success. It was the reason interviewees were selected for places at the schools. This was not so clear in the state schools. The school did not play

such a central role. Whilst selection on the basis of academic ability was shown to have been an important factor, it only partially explains the group's view of selection and achievement. The interviewees' perceptions of the selection criteria was that they depended on individual effort, backed up by individual teacher encouragement, but centrally supported by pupil peer groups. To be a member of an academically oriented peer group was not only the process whereby selection took place, but the criterion for selection. The role of pupil peer group will be developed later when considering student migration. The overall impression given by many of the interviewees was that they entered higher education despite their educational backgrounds. Though they were encouraged at school (unlike interviewees from independent schools) those interviewees in the state sector were not coached for entry to higher education.

Parents

The selection and sponsoring of an educational elite is very much connected with the reproduction of social class over the generations. The educated elite are predominantly drawn from the children of non manual parents. Such parents, along with the educational system itself, are portrayed in a range of studies (Douglas 1964, Banting 1985, Carter 1962, Hargreaves 1967, Willis 1977) as playing a crucial role in this process.

The greater participation in higher education of middle class children is achieved through the social influences found in family life, expectations, norms and values (Mortimore & Mortimore, 1986). Middle class parents, for instance, are said to place a higher value on education for their children's future and are more interested in their children's education. Throughout their children's educational life time these parents have greater involvement with their progress (Douglas, 1964). It has been noted in the migration literature that concern for their children's education acts as a constraint in parental migration decisions.

Also, as professionals these parents have the experience and knowledge of the system to enable them to provide advice on entering higher education. Ball (1981), amongst others, shows that middle class parents are able to intervene in their children's education because of their knowledge of school organisation and structure (p.156). Migration would be encouraged in the interests of achieving the necessary qualifications for professional status and to aim for the best place to study.

This approach is not adequate at all in this research context. As was shown in Chapter Three, these parents are not from the higher social classes. They are not able to provide educational assistance, rather, their encouragement tends to be more diffuse. To illustrate the point, figure 2 shows the parents of the

nine who moved into higher education were located in social classes lower in the hierarchy than the respondents.

figure 2

Social class of parents & interviewees in higher education

CaronS.	intermediate	Lyn F.	intermediate
m	part skilled	m	part skilled
f	skilled manual	f	skilled non-manual
WendyS.	intermediate	Sue P.	intermediate
m	skilled non-manual	m	skilled non-manual
f	skilled manual	f	skilled manual
TimD.	professional	Ian W.	professional
f	skilled manual	m	part skilled
		f	intermediate
ValerieMcK	intermediate	Helen J.	intermediate
m	skilled manual	m	-
		f	skilled manual
Stephen W.	professional		
f	skilled non-manual		

In only one family, Ian W. does one of his parent's occupation place them as high as intermediate social class. Consequently, parents cannot influence through the reproduction of particular norms and socialisation. None of those who left the area to go into higher education indicated that parents expected them to go to university or were, with two exceptions, interventionist in their education.

The amount of practical assistance and encouragement these parents could provide was limited because of their own different educational and occupational experiences. Mortimore and Mortimore (1986) argue that less parental involvement with their children's education should not be viewed as lack of

interest but rather, lack of knowledge or self confidence. Ball comments,

"The major basis of parents' knowledge of education is most often their own schooling, which is to a great extent being made irrelevant by the pace of change..." (1981, p.157)

Table 3

Parent qualification of interviewees who enter higher education

	<u>none</u>	<u>qualification</u>
school	8	1 ('O' level)
post-school	5	(1 rsa; 2 trade apprenticeship; 1 HNC)

Source: SCEL database.
Information limited to the original parent respondent.

As they did not share educational backgrounds it was unlikely that parents had the necessary knowledge of the educational system or of the subjects to be able to provide any practical assistance or encouragement, even if they were willing to do so.

For instance Helen J whose parents listened and let her and her brother take decisions, said of applying for college places, " I don't remember talking to my parents about it...it was something you did at school."

Tim D had been given specific advice at sixteen from the school on studying medicine said that:
" You have to believe it really, there was no medicine in my family to suggest otherwise. You just have to go along with it."

The role parents play is limited predominantly to being supportive and making general decisions about

education, such as in the choice of school they attended [5].

Of the nine interviewees who left the area to continue their education, parents and children in five families took steps to consider the adequacy of their local school.

After her family took advice from her primary head, Sue P. was considered to be an academic achiever. Her grandmother wanted her to go to an independent school and was willing to pay her fees. Her father refused and after taking the advice of her primary school head, Sue went to her local school.

In the other four, parents selected the school their children attended, three of which were independent schools. They went to their particular schools because the parents thought they would provide the best education.

Tim D said, " They thought that sort of school, rather than the local secondary school, would fulfil my potential more and they felt I would do better."

Apart from this intervention in education, parental involvement in education is supportive in a more diffuse way, with only two parents putting pressure on their children to do well. This diffuse support was manifested particularly in a parental expectation that their children 'do well' at school.

It should be noted however, that support and encouragement in education was not restricted to those who continue in education. Only three of the whole group of twenty-four did not discuss education with

their parents. Other than these cases, the overall impression from the interviews was that parents were concerned about their children's education but did not have a role in providing practical assistance in terms of choosing subject, courses or institutions. Instead they encouraged their children to do well at school emphasising the importance of getting qualifications.

What seems to be important is that the interviewees were at an important stage in their lives when they began to move away from dependence upon their parents and to make their own decisions. As they all said, they discussed their future education with their parents. However, they also added the proviso that they were discussing and not seeking advice, they would take the final decision themselves.

Sue P. "It was always a case of doing what we wanted to do."

Caron S talked to her parents about staying on for sixth form said: " I think to a certain extent I told my parents what I wanted to do I didn't really ask for their advice."

Steven W " I might have discussed it with my dad, but if I wanted to do it I could do it basically. There wasn't a lot of decision... They were very good in the sense that I wasn't pushed to do anything they wanted...They would let you do what you wanted as long as it was what you wanted. As long as I put all my effort into things, that was more important."

In a further example Lyn F. and her friend decided to take 'A' levels at the local FE college rather than continue at school. Her parents attempted to dissuade her but eventually accepted her view on the matter. Furthermore this evaluation of what was best for

themselves was shown in their critical evaluation of schooling and in their determination to reach their goal.

The conclusion reached here is that whilst parents may have some influence in shaping the decisions made by their children it is not in the way studies of social class and educational achievement suggest. Social class reproduction is inadequate as an explanation in this instance given the different parental experiences. Parental influence in shaping the decision to migrate lies in their general encouragement, which reinforce the actions of school. They support and encourage their children to achieve through higher education but without any clear goal for their children to aim for and in particular, their choice of institution.

Peers

Whilst parents and the school to some extent did shape the school student's decision to enter higher education) it has been demonstrated that their influence did not extend to the decision to migrate. The decision to migrate was shaped by the individual's peers. As a group young people spend a substantial amount of time together and as friends have similar interests. As has already been established, friends are predominantly from the same academic orientation. Moreover, the nine who left the area to continue their education all said that part of 'getting there' was through the shared discovery and discussion of their

futures. They discussed the occupations to which they were attracted, the courses on which they had information, the kinds of facilities different educational institutions offered, and where they should apply.

Tim D. said : " I think in any walk of life to a degree you're going to get some people who are going to be swayed even on a decision of this gravity. Two or three of their friends say I'm going to apply to medical school and perhaps the fourth who was wavering and was quite impartial would tag along. Certainly perhaps where they'd like to go if so and so said he was going to Liverpool."

For most of these young people, they knew either the occupation they were aiming for or the broad subject area that they preferred for their potential future occupation. The sharing of ideas and information acted as a stimulus and maintained support to their individual aims.

In the same way that the peer groups can promote the decision not to continue in education it was shown in the interview group to be an important influence for those who continued in education. Sharing information was key during the sixth form, especially for those educated in the state sector.

Helen J. "I talked to friends yes, there were quite a few others who applied to the northern universities and colleges...I suppose we all sent off to the the same places for prospectuses and talked about them ourselves."

Valerie McK. discussed the future only in "vague terms" but commented: "I'd heard from a girl who went to art college the problems of going to art college too near to home and with mum and dad splitting up I thought it's a mistake going to college too near to home."

Sue P said: "We used to talk about it, where we were going, what was available at the university. It was, like keeping something ahead of you that you were aiming at."

Wendy S.said: "A lot of us (friends) had the same goal,... not necessarily to teach but to go to college or university. I had a group of about eight friends and we all planned to do that, okay to do different things when we got there, that was the aim."

Taken together the three areas of school, home, and peers do shape the decision of the young person to enter higher education and to migrate. In schools, it was shown that streaming was key to achievement and continuation in education; whereas parental influence was more diffuse, providing support and encouragement rather than direct influence and intervention. In neither situation did their influence extend to promote migration. The idea and decision to migrate was stimulated by peers. Peers build the expectation of migration.

Why did these students migrate? Decisions about which course and where to study are not chosen wholly on the basis of what is the best course or best institution in academic prestige or occupational terms.

For in the interview group only one person, Tim D. used the criterion of finding the best institution for his course of study. (But see his additional comments later). This led him to study in London, a city he disliked.

Though subject and course are important elements in selecting where to study, students are likely to consider a variety of factors in the process of

selection. Their considerations and final decisions reflect what is important to them at that particular time. In particular they are looking at the specific localities, with the facilities provided by the institution, predominantly the social life. Here are some of the points the group, some of them slightly embarrassed, made about how they selected their courses and institutions.

Lyn F commented "I liked the city and the polytechnic facilities and it was very friendly, and it sort of leaves a good impression when people go out of their way to make you feel welcome." In response to what was most important the course or the area she said "half and half".

Wendy S wanted to study for a B. Education at a college because they tended to be smaller: "What I did to be quite honest, was I had a list of all the colleges and to send off for the prospectuses, to send off for the places I fancied...There are an awful lot of people who choose things because they look nice."

Sue P who hoped to study medicine said the course content was important and the need to show the institutions you were dedicated. At the same time she was looking for: "...a place with a good reputation and good social life, which is something I wanted to a certain extent. Everyone gets themselves through their A levels I'm sure, by re-reading the prospectus. It's certainly what we used to do."

Steven W was restricted in choice to an extent by age as he was seventeen when he had sufficient qualifications for university. He preferred a good university for science but he did not want London, "...wouldn't be seen dead at Oxford or Cambridge". He liked the university he applied to (Leeds) and the area, and commented that he was looking for a good life. (Steven went to an independent school and from information given by other interviewees, was probably in the 'high flyer' stream and would have been expected to apply to Oxford or Cambridge).

Ian W 's initial comment was: "It's a bit flippant but it's true" then said he went through a process of elimination as a way of choosing his course. "Mechanical engineering involved getting dirty, ...civil engineering meant standing outside in the cold...I wasn't very good at physics or electronics, that only left chemical engineering."

These individuals' comments reflect those others in the group who entered higher education, showing the variety and often non-academic criteria in selection of their course. With the 'best' course representing only a part of that decision.

A further and important reason for their selection of institution involving migration is that participation in higher education enabled interviewees to leave home, establish their independence, and participate in the social side of student life. Coles (1986) also records similar findings in his study. He notes,

"...many of the reported motivations ...suggest that 'life style', as much as career aspirations, is a feature of the decision-making process." (p.92)

On this the whole group was united. As students they all wished to study away from the Coventry locality.

Valerie McK. " I wanted my independence. I wanted my mum to let me develop. She's very good my mum, but she tends to take over if you're not careful.'

Sue P "Half of university is not just learning on a course it's about growing up, which I don't think you do when you're too near to home... I wanted my own space."

Steven W. rejected universities if they:
"were too close to home..I wanted a reasonable
excuse not to come home every weekend while
I was having a good time...You'd never really
make the break."

Caron S expected : "a life of a student. To a
certain extent it's not the sort of life
your parents would approve of...social life
and independence."

Having the opportunity of a different social life
and independence filtered down to younger brothers and
sisters acting as a stimulus to make similar decisions.

Caron S. commented that after visits by her younger
brother he had decided to apply to universities in that
area. Additionally, one 'Stayer' respondent from the
survey group was studying in the Coventry locality and
had decided to apply to university after visits to her
brother. It was the social side of university life
that appealed to her.

The desire for independence means more than simply
having a 'good time'. An important feature of the
migration, as the above comments indicate, is making
the break with family influence and control. Acceptance
of the separation and independence of the children is a
gradual process. Going to university provides a
mechanism that enables independence to take place.
Once back in the family home parents may attempt to
assume their former role.

For example, Sue P when making visits to her
parents early in her period at university
commented on this. Her mother tried to set
times for when she should be home in the
evening and wanted to know where she was going.

Hence, it was why some felt the need to establish a certain distance from their parents whether it was 'psychological' (Tim D), or 'practical' as in the case of Valerie Mck. whose mother 'tends to take over' and consequently drew a radius of fifty miles around the Coventry locality to select an institution.

Tim D "It would be fair to say that at the same time other places were actively excluded. I wouldn't have contemplated going to Leicester or Birmingham because I felt they were too close to home."

Ian W. "I didn't want to go too far away from home..All within a certain radius...I wanted to leave home, not because it was a horrible home..."

As this latter comment indicates, whilst making the break with family was important it should be emphasised they did not seek to make a complete break. Most said they were close to their families and keeping in touch was and remained, very important to them. In all but one family, contact was made usually weekly by telephone, with regular visits made to each other. This has been maintained since that time.

For these respondents gaining independence was facilitated through migration as part of entry to higher education. It would not have been possible to achieve if they had studied in their home area. These young people were aware that their experience would have been very different had they applied to institutions in the area. For staying in the area, would have meant staying at home. It would have meant not taking a full part in student life.

Stephen W said that all his family lived within a short distance of each other with one cousin, almost 25, still at home. Along with the others in the group Stephen also said that he would have been expected to live at home if he had applied to local institutions.

Ian W learned from his brother who had stayed at home and studied in the area, he felt his brother had missed out on everything.

Though of these young people were excited about their new life, they were all apprehensive about the move and the process of becoming familiar with the new area. Rebecca Sullivan (Guardian,1990), recalled her experience of the break with her family to go to college. Despite looking forward to going to university, she remembered the initial break as terrifying.

"If the prospect of spending three years away in a strange city with strange new people without the security of home seems daunting, you'll be right. For me, setting off ... was one of the most terrifying experiences of my life."

(Guardian,18.9.90)

Rebecca also later learned that she was not alone in feeling anxious about the move and that many other students' initial reaction was to "...pack up and go home...". (18.9.90)

These were similar to comments made by interviewees. All but two expressed feelings of loneliness, homesickness, or vulnerability on having made the move [6].

Ian W "Living in halls is an automatic introduction to others on your floor. I'd hate to have been in ... lodgings that would have been dreadful. I knew that at the time."

Stephen W " It's a very easy way of leaving home, you're quite well looked after."

Such feelings and experiences in breaking with a familiar area and social life in order to go somewhere that is unfamiliar is part of the 'risk and uncertainty' in the migration process.

Another way of demonstrating the risk involved in educational migration is by comparing the organisational assistance provided with these educational moves with other types of moves and the problems faced in moving as described in migration literature. For example, the literature on migration concerned with mobility of labour pays considerable attention to factors that enable and inhibit movement.

There is less explicit discussion of the role of such factors. These factors include paying relocation costs, the provision of temporary accommodation, having a job to go to. All of which illustrate the need for a mechanism¹ to facilitate migration. This was an essential argument in Grieco's analysis in which the the family was shown to facilitate migration.

Within education the facilitating mechanism is located in the assistance provided by the higher education institution. The presence of the mechanism suggests that not only do the students recognise the risk, so too do educational institutions. A House of Commons Committee Report (1987) noted the concern of representatives from Polytechnics about the lack of,

and inadequate provision of, Halls of Residence for their first year students. In this same report, a submission from the Association of Metropolitan Authorities emphasised the importance of the financial provisions in the 1962 Education Act, which they felt was the strength of the system. The student grant had given students 'relatively unfettered choice' as to where to study (Education Science and Arts Committee, 1986-87, p.21).

The assistance provided through the education system is currently substantial. Firstly, students receive a grant which is meant to provide financial support. Secondly, institutions do try to provide accommodation such as halls of residence, for all first year students. Where this is not possible, they may provide assistance through other rented accommodation and bed and breakfast. Thirdly, the provision of halls of residence provides the environment in which groups of individuals in the same position can establish friendships. This consequently, reduces the loneliness that would otherwise have been present. Fourthly, in addition to the provision of accommodation the institutions also provide a variety of social facilities which promote friendships and participation. Finally, institutions usually provide advisers. All of these are intended to make the break from the familiar to the unknown easier.

Risk and uncertainty are thus reduced by the 'higher educational package' (Byrne, 1974), through the

facilities offered by educational institutions. Economic assistance, made available through the mandatory grant system. All the young students in the group took advantage of the assistance of their chosen institution. Further they all commented that the assistance made the move easier.

Tim D "It seemed pretty stupid for someone who didn't know London, who'd only been there twice to try and find somewhere of my own to live.

And in a way I don't think I'd have managed the leap from home from doing nothing for myself at all to have my own flat. I don't think I could have done it."

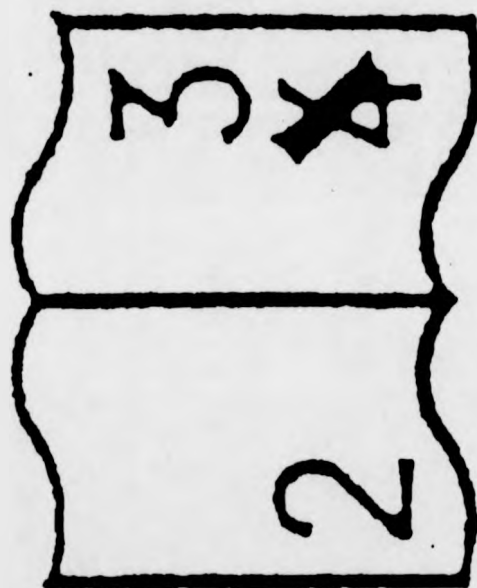
Caron S "I think the impression of the whole institution when you went to visit on the open day was that they would look after you."

Occasionally, things go wrong. In one migration, the process did not work out smoothly, emphasising the importance of institutional assistance in facilitating a safe move.

Valerie McK "There was a misunderstanding, when I was at the interview I was told I was on college campus and that was where I wanted to be. Had that not been the case I would have gone to Bristol university." As a late applicant Valerie was on college grounds for one night. She returned home the following day because of this and an incident at her room, only returning when alternative accommodation had been found.

The migratory mechanism was also important for their parents. For them it provided an acceptable way for their children to move away. Parents were reassured if they knew their children are supported by the educational institutions. Moreover, they were

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back to the area to see their families. As part of their move away, education migrants form new friendships and establish contacts with people from different areas. In contrast those who remain in the area are more likely to be increasingly embedded in the locality as they establish and extend networks and friendships.

The effects of education-led migration are also important in employment terms. On leaving higher education the young person enters the labour market. This will tend to be a national labour market. It should be noted that where this has taken place the individual will have already made two moves. Analyses of migration should treat with caution the simple association between mobility and occupation. For example, in Johnson et al's study (1974), they describe socio-economic characteristics of respondents who were more likely to move. However, they later report that a significant number of their mobile respondents were students taking up their first jobs (pp153-154).

Having made the initial move subsequent moves are less daunting to individuals. Individuals know what difficulties might arise and are able to take steps to avoid them. This should also be seen as a benefit to employers. Experience of higher education apart from making new friends, also establishes and extends the size and distribution of networks. This in

turn may be useful in the future as a source of information about employment or a particular locality.

It has been argued here that education promoted and facilitated migration for interviewees who entered higher education. This experience also prepares those young people to manage further migrations. The implication being that education provides a flexible, mobile group of new workers. However, an additional feature of some interviewees educational experiences was that during their period of education they formed marital relationships. This is shown in Chapter 7 to be influential in migration decision making, with moves made with partners or constrained by partners.

footnotes

[1] Responses in this chapter are taken from the interview group of twenty-four. Because of the subject under discussion some questions were asked of the whole group, whilst others were asked only of the nine who went onto higher education. The responses are individual recollections of their experiences as part of in-depth interviews. As such the interview discussion will vary slightly from interview to interview, yet within the context of common themes.

[2] four attended schools which had been direct-grant schools, one was a dance school, and the other a girls private day/boarder school.

[3] the private school for girls also sought to develop 'ladies'. The dance school, whilst seeking to maximise students' qualifications, was concerned to produce good dance teachers.

[4] one school had a 'high flyers' stream in which pupils sat exams one year earlier than the norm and the pupils were prepared for entry to Oxford and Cambridge.

[5] Though this has been limited for different reasons, with tri-partite system and even later with comprehensive system. Additionally, the Coventry local authority introduced education policy for young people to go to the school in their neighbourhood, thus limiting the degree and range of choice for families. Of the whole of the interview group, thirteen attended their local schools, in nine cases, parents selected the school, and in the last two cases, the decision was taken jointly between parents and children.

[6] one interviewee, Wendy S made the emotional break the previous year when she spent part of a year with her penfriend in Sweden. This was Wendy's difficult break.

[7] The position concerning student grants has changed and may radically change with moves to transfer costs of support transferring from the state to the individual. This transfer of costs, according to Holroyde (ex-director of Coventry Polytechnic would be a way of financing greater student numbers, but who would more likely to study locally. (C.E.T. 16.2.89) This in fact may have further unsatisfactory consequences for the mobility of graduates. For example, D Mclean, who studied in the USA. He reports the practice of student borrowing is rising considerably. The individual's debt connected with this has risen considerably. He commented,

"I benefitted from the US programme
but as I now consider the cost, not
in dollars, but in freedom and mobility..."
(Guardian 7.2.89)

EMPLOYMENT AND THE MIGRATION DECISION

An essential part of the research was to examine the migration process, including the motivation for migration and factors influencing the migration decision. This included the role of employment in migration. It was clear from the analysis of the 'mover' survey that respondents were moving to go to something and were not making speculative moves. In many cases there was a strong indication that people were moving where some means of support was present, such as educational and training institutions, the army and in marriage. Thus the research was also concerned to establish whether support mechanisms were present in employment related migration and if this was the case, how influential were they in the migration decision.

Classical economic 'push-pull' theory assumes that individuals tend to behave as economic actors and that this will determine their migratory behaviour. Contrary to this, it is argued in this chapter that employment-related migration decisions are not simply made from this kind of economic rationalising. There is a range of factors influencing individual and household decision to migrate. Where migration is employment-related migrants need access to employment and accommodation. The interview group's experiences

show that information and assistance in these matters are influenced by their distribution and the individual's occupational group. Access to information is either through an individual's networks or is distributed by employers. Employers are also shown to be important as distributors of housing assistance to attract certain workers. Without the presence of this kind of support individuals are less likely to move.

Migration is commonly analysed within the context of the operation of the labour market. Approaches to employment relations, including migration, have developed from neo-classical economic theory (Gallie 1988, Brown 1988, Jackson 1986, Lind 1969, Kosinski & Prothero 1981). According to neo-classical economic theory, the decision to migrate is influenced by the economic circumstances of an individual's labour market. Migration is based on push-pull factors with individuals moving or considering movement in their own economic interests. This approach sees the market mechanism as the effective way for a capitalist economy to operate. It believes "...in market forces as the best method of allocating goods and services and as the best means of matching labour and jobs." (Peden 1985 p.2) It views individual behaviour as that of 'economic man'. The approach assumes individuals are isolated and act in their own self, economic, interests (Peden 1985, Jackson 1986, Lind 1969, Marsden 1986). An early theorist of migration, Ravenstein (1885), presented the first set of universal 'laws of

migration'. Reflecting the neo-classical approach, Ravenstein asserted that migration decisions are motivated by an inherent desire in individuals to better themselves in material respects. According to neo-classical theory, the price mechanism directs both capital and labour to where demands exist. Both are mobile in order that they achieve 'maximum returns'. Within this approach then, capital and labour are variables acting harmoniously to the same end. For the economic actor, advantage is based on the level of wages and employment opportunity. He or she responds to any pressures in the economy to seek employment opportunities and achieve the highest possible wages.

Thus labour migration is presumed to take place through a set of push-pull factors. Push factors include low wages, lack of employment opportunities and unemployment; pull factors are those which attract workers, by offering advantages, such as higher wages and employment opportunities. In terms of migration, the classical economic approach views labour as automatically following demand.

The approach also assumes the primacy of the labour market, in determining the movement and direction of labour. Moreover, the underlying assumption is that individual migration behaviour and decision making is economically motivated. This is reflected in the variety of approaches and studies of labour migration. For example, Pissarides (1976)

writes, "Economics studies the behaviour of systems which consist of individuals whose desires cannot be satiated by available resources." (p.1) This is expanded upon,

"In our study of the typical individual we usually take great pains to explain his behaviour. In principle the method by which we explain individual behaviour is simple: we normally impose some standards of consistency which must be satisfied by the actions of an individual, and then examine his behaviour give these standards of consistency and the environment within which he operates. The standards of consistency we usually impose are that the typical individual seeks always to maximize his own well-being. He observes external events and the actions of others via their influence on variables which affect his own well-being, and reacts to them in such a way as to maximize his utility given those values of the variables which he observes.(p.2)

Economic motivation is also implied in other mobility studies, even where mobility is perceived as complex and problematical. Hunter and Reid show that labour mobility is unevenly experienced, nevertheless, they conclude ,in their study of urban worker mobility that, "The function of all geographical mobility is to redistribute labour geographically in accordance with changes in the demand for it." (1967,p.21).

Others have acknowledged that migration decisions are more complex than the individual as economic actor responding to push-pull factors. Men and women have other concerns in migration decision making and are concerned with other aspects of their lives; they are social beings. An approach based on individual decision making and which incorporates non-employment

factors into theorising about the migration decision making of individuals is the 'human capital approach' (Sjaastad 1966). Essentially this is a 'cost-benefit rational' approach. From this point of view, the existence of employment opportunities elsewhere is not necessarily an advantage for the individual. The migration decision is primarily based on expected income over the individual's lifetime employment. Migration will be to that locality which produces the highest returns. In making the decision the individual considers the level of income in the remainder of his or her working life, along with other factors including, for example, social and environmental facilities in the destination area and the actual costs connected with the move. The value of the cost-benefit approach is that it sees the decision to migrate as being made by weighing up of the advantages and disadvantages from a range of economic and non-economic variables. It therefore, acknowledges some of the complexities involved in migration decision making. It remains ultimately, however, a rational, economically determined approach to migration based on classical economic principles in which the individual is motivated by the desire for the best for themselves (Molho, 1986). Thus, Todaro critical of non-economic models in considering rural-urban migration asserts, "...migration is based primarily on privately rational economic calculations for the individual migrant." (1976, p28) Moreover he states that while factors in

migration decision making include 'economic and non-economic' variables, the economic ones are assumed to predominate (p.29). The underlying assumption once more in this approach is the non-problematical view of the individual acting rationally to maximise her/his individual position.

Criticisms are largely centred on the fact that migration is not perceived as a problem by economists (Johnson et al., 1974, Clark 1986, Champion et al., 1986, Lind 1969). Gallie (1988) for example writes of neo-classical theory, "Mobility between jobs is assumed to be largely unproblematic and the market therefore offers equality of opportunity." (p.17).

Neo-classical theory assumes, firstly, that the market place provides equal access to jobs and secondly, that no account is taken of differences between jobs and their particular labour markets. There is, thus, no consideration of discrimination or segmentation in the market place (Jenkins et al, 1986).

Further, it is assumed that either individuals have perfect knowledge of wages, opportunities, and geographical locations or that people are willing to move without such knowledge. The assumption in migration is that perfect knowledge of wages, opportunities and other factors enabling migration to take place are distributed through the labour market. Thus, similar criticisms can be made of the economic approach to the operations of labour markets, they

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are assumed to operate without problem (Clark 1986, Somers 1972).

A cost-benefit analysis is also unsatisfactory because it is limited in its understanding of migration as a social process. It does not take full account of circumstances and also assumes perfect knowledge and access to opportunities. It remains economically based in its assumptions of decision making. The underlying motive for migration is assumed to be to maximise self advancement. Further, it over rationalises migration decision making, by seeing it as a simple calculation of costs and benefits between social and economic factors (Westergaard et al 1989).

Whilst the approaches outlined above emphasise the importance of the economic base of capitalist societies, employment relations in migration are more complex than this. Green et al (1986), for example argue that mobility can be inhibited by access to employment opportunities including, family ties, skills required for jobs, knowledge of the extent of labour market, and housing. Some writers have adapted the push-pull features of the classical economic theory of migration and look at those intervening factors. Some refer to them as 'obstacles' (Lee, 1969) or as 'intervening variables' (Jackson, 1986) This modification to the push-pull approach at least allows the possibility of broader consideration of how migration decisions are influenced and made.

Interview Group's Employment

The interview group's experiences are shown to reflect these greater complexities in decision making in migration. They do demonstrate the importance of economic considerations in employment related migration, with some decisions based on advancement. However, it is argued in this chapter that employment related migration can be stimulated by other, non-economic, factors. For some of the interviewees, conflict at work was influential in stimulating their migration. In addition, their decisions to move were made from a wide range of factors. Decisions were not simply based on employment, often involving more than one person, which were also shown to vary over time. Migration decisions were thus shown to be not necessarily based on the concept of the individual economic actor. In employment related migration the interviewees' decisions to move are more likely to be taken where there is an established demonstrable means of moving, for example, within a particular employment group/sector. In this research, of particular importance is the public sector. Also important, as in the other chapters, are support mechanisms which assist migration and reduce the risk and uncertainty associated with it.

The data for this chapter is based on the twenty-four interviews with respondents who left the area for a variety of reasons. This figure included nine who left for education, eight for employment, five for

marriage, and two to be with a partner or parent. The analysis of their employment experiences is divided into two groups. The first is a brief portrait and analysis of the eight who left the area for employment related reasons. The second and major part of the chapter is based on the experiences and views of all twenty four interviewees.

Leaving the Coventry area.

There were eight people from the interview group of twenty-four, who stated they originally left the Coventry locality for reasons related to employment. These eight interviewees left the area between the ages of seventeen and twenty-four. Two interviewees left to join the army, three moved to take up new employment, two made employment moves within their existing firms, and the last person moved to be nearer her employment. The background to their moves is presented below.

Neil F. was employed in the civil service and left the area after he obtained a transfer to a new department in another area. He had been fed up in his current job as he did not get on with his managers. Notices were commonly circulated about vacancies in other areas. This had stimulated the idea of leaving the area. When the opportunity arose he applied for another job and was accepted.

Kate T. moved away from the Coventry area to be closer to her work and her fiancée, a co-employee. She was employed as a telephonist/receptionist in a hotel and worked until very late at night as did other members of staff, including her fiancée. Kate was dissatisfied with the effect her working conditions had on her social life. It was common for staff to spend time together for a while after work. But as Kate lived some distance away she tended not to join them. At the same time she rarely saw her parents because of the time she returned home.

Rob A. left school during the period of high unemployment. He had only been able to find semi-skilled/ unskilled manual work after leaving school, though he had hoped to obtain a place on an apprenticeship scheme. He also had some experience of unemployment. Rob had for some time been involved with music as a hobby and his ambition had been to be a professional player. His unsatisfactory work experience and encouragement from his parents, stimulated him to apply for jobs in a band. The job he successfully applied for involved moving away from the area.

Andrew B. was a final year apprentice in a local toolmaking firm in the area when it closed down. After his redundancy, he could only find casual employment in the construction industry and at the same time completed his apprenticeship at a local college. He also wanted to update his technical skills, both to increase his employment opportunities and to move away from machine work. Unable to achieve this locally, he was persuaded by a friend, who had joined the royal navy and an army careers officer, that this could be achieved by joining the armed services. It was joining the army, to take up this employment, that necessitated Andrew's migration. He had not considered leaving the area prior to this.

Matthew G. was unable to find employment after leaving school. He attended a YTS retail scheme in a local department store and decided to continue in that employment sector. He went on to train as a supermarket manager in the butchery department of a national supermarket chain. This was in another locality but he managed to travel daily to work. After a short period of time Matthew was dissatisfied with the job and left. He could not find similar work in the area. A contact, made during his training, found him similar employment in another area. He had not thought about leaving the area prior to this.

Marion T, left the area after seeking promotion within her profession (laboratory technology (haematology)). There were opportunities of promotion in the locality, but Marion preferred to move because of unsatisfactory relationships with management in her department. Additionally, she saw the move as an opportunity to establish her independence from her parents.

Bob H. moved with his parents when they became publicans. He was eventually offered employment by a representative from one of the breweries, which he took up. The firm merged with a larger company and some restructuring took place within the firm. As part of this Bob was asked to move to another area, which he had become familiar with as part of his job and he agreed.

Geoffrey A. left school and went to work in a small insurance company. He had begun working for this firm as a 'Saturday' job whilst still at school. However, Geoffrey had not liked office work. After a year he applied to join the army, was accepted and moved away as part of this. Geoffrey had wanted to join the army since he was young and had applied to join whilst he was at school. But at that time he was excluded because of his height. This criterion was later relaxed.

These accounts show that these eight moves out of the Coventry area could broadly be described as economic. Push factors contributed to some of the moves and in over half (5) the individuals conform to the model of 'economic actors' seeking advancement, either from insecure, unsatisfactory work, unemployment or for promotion. This was supported by some interviewees who described their moves as going to better jobs. In addition, joining the armed forces is perceived as a working class response to unemployment and lack of opportunity (Allen & Waton, 1986). Both interviewees joined the army at a time when there were few employment opportunities.

The accounts also show, however, that even where moves are connected with employment, these decisions are not based simply on economic reasoning. There were other, additional reasons for the move. For example, joining the army, as is noted above, is linked to adverse economic conditions. Yet in the two accounts above of Andrew B. and Geoffrey A., the reasons for joining the army are shown to be different. One interviewee only joined because of the lack of opportunities; the other interviewee had wanted to join since he was a young boy and also wanted to travel.

Some interviewees were strongly influenced in their decision to move by conflict in their workplace. This emphasises the point that migration decisions are influenced by other aspects of employment relations. In a consideration of employment relations Brown (1988) comments,

"Sociologists have been agreed in asserting that the relations between employers and employees cannot be understood in narrowly economic terms. Employees typically seek more than purely economic rewards from their employment; their behaviour at work is influenced by social 'factors';..."

(Brown, 1988, p.54)

A number of interviewees commented on their dissatisfaction, not so much with their work but with the poor relations between themselves and managers. Marion T. for example left the area after obtaining a promotion. Yet Marion said her promotion was not dependent on leaving the area, there were similar opportunities in the area. However, the conflict at

her workplace encouraged her to consider moving elsewhere. A further factor in her decision making was that Marion saw the move away as a way of being independent from her parents.

Similarly, Matthew G.'s move was not based on promotion. Rather it followed unsatisfactory relations with his manager. He was 'fed-up' with his particular job and manager. Another factor here, which again was not economically based and emerged from the interview with Matthew, was that for a long time he had changed jobs frequently. This can be partly explained by his young age and thus for some time he had had minimal responsibilities (see Creggan (1991)).

The interviewees' experiences also show that a cost-benefit rational approach, in which additional factors are taken into account, is still unsatisfactory as a way of understanding migration decisions. If their decisions had been made in accord with this approach, we would expect them to have made an economic¹ calculation of income until retirement, cost of the move, plus a further cost-benefit calculation of social psychological and environmental variables. Whilst it is assumed that anyone who moves does so because the advantages appear to outweigh the disadvantages, the calculation as indicated above is unrealistic. They were young people, who at the time were all single and aged between seventeen and twenty-four. Until they left the Coventry area, they had all lived with their parents. They potentially have a long working life ahead of them; they do not know how

long they will be in their current employment or what will be their income. Moreover, it is not possible to evaluate their destination area fully without having experience of it. Whatever they know about the destination area, it is, in this instance, without the benefit of spending time in it.

Marion T. who moved with a promotion, soon realised that she hated the new area, both the work environment and the area.

Geoffrey A. commented that he did not consider long term plans at all, "I was single, with no concerns. All my money was my own. I lived from day to day then."

The accounts of those who left the Coventry area show that their migration decisions can be partly explained by the 'economic actor' approach. Some of their moves were an advancement, either from being unemployed or casual employment to employment or for a promotion. The approach does not take into account other factors in their decision making. Despite their youth and thus relatively brief employment experience, there were other important reasons influencing their decision making. The cost-benefit analysis was also shown to be inadequate. It over emphasises the rationalising of the cost\benefits of migration decisions of a group of young people with little employment experience and who also have a potentially long but unknown economic future.

These eight experiences also provide some understanding of how they were able to move. Of significance in their move was the fact that all interviewees had employment to go to. As was argued

earlier in the thesis the ability to move requires access to information about opportunities in other areas and in each case here interviewees had this access. In addition to this each of their moves was made in situations where support mechanisms were present to facilitate it. In each move, they had an income and accommodation, or addresses of accommodation provided by their employers. For example,

Marion T. had obtained employment before she left the area. Her new employer also provided accommodation to facilitate that move.

Rob A. was found accommodation with other musicians by his employers to facilitate his move away from the area.

Bob H. who was asked to move to a new area by his employers, was provided with bed and breakfast accommodation until he found permanent accommodation.

Some employers provided considerable material support. Their moves are similar to those who moved to go on to higher education where the support mechanism is not only present, it is an established practice which the interviewees were willing to use. The interviewees were in labour market groups which provided information about opportunities. Unlike education, however, not everyone has access to the mechanism. The analysis now looks at the interview group's general mobility to establish the extent to which migration is motivated by economic advancement as in the economic actor approach.

General Mobility

The interview group's migration from the Coventry area occurred when they had little or no experience of employment. For most of the group, migration was not from the position of 'economic actor'. Their individual migrations took place at a significant point in their life cycle and was also part of establishing their independence from their families. Since that time numerous changes have taken place in their lives which have been influential in their migration decision making. Nineteen of the twenty-four are now married, nine of whom have children. One woman has separated from her partner. Whilst four interviewees made just the one move away from Coventry, the majority have made further moves. As Table 1 shows, well over half of the group have made a further one or two moves, with three individuals having moved five or more times. Between them the interview group have made a further forty-seven moves since their migration from the Coventry locality. In addition to this, some interviewees have made other moves which were short-term temporary moves lasting a few weeks to a few months [1].

TABLE 1

Interview group: number of moves since
leaving the Coventry area

no. of moves	1	2	3	4	5+ *
number of individuals	7	7	3	0	3

* Actual number of moves are 5,6,6.

Note, this table excludes moves within a locality.

The moves made by the interview group since leaving the Coventry area have been divided into three broad categories: those whose moves can be directly linked to employment, (twenty-five); those whose moves are indirectly connected with employment, (twelve), and moves with no link to employment (ten). Whilst the main stimulus for movement was fairly evenly divided between employment and non-employment factors, a substantial majority of the moves did include a change of employment. It thus indicates the variety of motives connected with migration decisions and the variety of reasons for a change of employment.

Moves directly linked to employment.

In this category, ten individuals made twenty-five moves, for reasons linked to employment. It is within this group that we should most expect to find economic factors based on the push-pull approach important in their migration decisions. However, of the twenty-five moves, only five could be classed as stimulated by economic advancement. Each of these five moves were made by individuals taking up employment after having completed their education. Having gained their qualifications, their search for employment was within national labour markets. Their moves were based on economic advancement as they were moving to gain an income.

The majority of the moves were not made for economic reasons in the sense of self advancement, but

for other employment related reasons. Two individuals' multiple moves, were forced moves, as part of their jobs. They had joined the army in which the policy is to move soldiers, minimally, every two years.

Other moves were made by individuals seeking employment change and for who employment opportunities arose that enabled them to make the move.

Helen J. trained as a teacher after which she was unable to find employment and temporarily returned home. Eventually, she found employment in another area. After a while Helen decided she wanted a change. Helen then obtained a renewable fixed term contract teaching abroad. After the contract ended she decided to return to England and successfully obtained employment in the area in which she had previously taught. With the exception of the temporary return to her parent's home, each of these moves were taken on the basis of her seeking change and taking advantage of the opportunity to travel.

Rob A. first obtained employment outside the Coventry area with a band. After approximately a year he decided to form his own band and make a record. Consequently he and some friends moved to London to do this. His aim was to become established as a musician. After a period of time the band split up and he returned to Coventry with his partner. Later they decided to stay with her parents for a while and thus moved to Liverpool. He also hoped to become established as a musician in that area.

Ian W. found employment in the organisation where he had completed a post graduate course. He decided to change employment after becoming dissatisfied with the direction in which the research work was going. He was more concerned to have interesting work and was not particularly concerned, at this point, with income. He did suggest, however, that at some point in the future, having a better salary might become an issue of concern if he wanted a house of his own and in the area in which he currently lives and where house prices are high.

Many of these moves, which were directly connected to employment change, were made whilst

interviewees were still young and single. They had few responsibilities and thus decision making was easier than where decision making is negotiated as part of a family group. Of importance too was the fact that they had the opportunity to move and the means which facilitated their movement. This is partly understood by the nature of their labour markets which provided some opportunities and which is discussed later in this chapter.

Indirect moves

In this category, nine interviewees made twelve moves. This involved three people returning temporarily to their parents' home because they were unemployed; an experience occurring to two of them as they completed their education courses. Eight people moved on account of their partners, with one person moving on two occasions because of her partner. Finally, two of the interviewees, Caron S. and Helen J. moved for both reasons.

These moves were indirectly related to employment, for whilst they were either responding to a lack of employment or changing employment, taking up employment was not the motive for moving to their destination areas. For those who were unemployed, along with others in the group who made temporary moves when unemployed (3), the move to the Coventry locality was to stay with their families. They moved to the area which knew, in which accommodation was available.

This support was important as they were single (4) and therefore had neither established extensive networks nor established their own base.

Other moves were linked to where a marital relationship had been established. In these cases the interviewees primarily moved to where their partners lived or where their partners were moving to take up employment. In all but one case these moves necessitated a change of employment, though not always a change of employer. In this last case, Lyn F. was concerned to obtain her first employment as near as possible to the area she had moved.

Caron S. initially left the area to continue her education. After completing her course she was unable to find employment. She therefore returned to her parents' home in the Coventry locality. She assumed she would find suitable employment in the Midlands and her partner to be, who still had a year to complete his study, would also find employment and follow her. However, he could not find employment in this area. Eventually, Caron was able to obtain a transfer to where her partner had found employment.

Nick R. first left the Coventry area to be with his partner who was moving as part of her training. They both hated the area they had moved to and altered their future plans. Nick's partner successfully applied for a studentship in higher education. After a very brief sojourn in their parent's homes, Nick moved again to be with his partner.

Moves unrelated to employment

In this category eight interviewees made ten moves between them. Almost all moves (nine), were undertaken for housing reasons, with one move being made for marriage. The moves, which were between twelve and seventy-five miles, were made by individuals who were

economically active, yet who did not change their employment. Their experiences illustrate the differential nature and variety of travel to work journees which enable some people to make such housing moves. It thus adds a further dimension to migration decision making.

Bob H. is in employment which involves him visiting firms on his 'patch', a fairly large geographical area and which includes parts of four regions. The nature of his employment thus enables him to live anywhere within a broad area. His housing move was to an area he and his partner preferred and included the fact that they needed more room for their daughter.

Wendy S. has made three moves. Her first was to go into higher education. The second was to take up her first job after qualifying as a teacher. This was in the same educational authority area as she had studied and trained and is a large geographical area. This move was to a small town approximately thirteen miles away from the school. Later Wendy made her third move, approximately to the same distance away from the school but in the opposite direction. As a move for her it involved a distance of twenty-five miles.

These non-employment motivated moves indicate that moves are sometimes far from being economically determined. The fact that some individuals are able to move over a range of distances without changing their job demonstrates that not only does migration take place for social as well as economic reasons, but that employment and thus labour markets are experienced differentially. Finally, the significance of non-employment criteria in decision making is shown in Table 2 below. Interviewees commonly gave non-economic factors as influential when thinking about migration decisions.

TABLE 2

VARIABLES MENTIONED AS PART OF MIGRATION
CALCULATION.

job & home	small town/village
hate big cities	stability
partner	children:education/social activities
facilities	neighbours
	friendliness
interesting work	sufficient salary
family/access	friends
'roots'	means of support
difficulties/networks	housing
employer policy	quality of life
dissatisfaction with employment	
opportunities - work abroad	
- continue in current aims/work	

To summarise, in all the group's moves, including the original moves away from Coventry and their subsequent moves, the motivation has not simply been based on the self-interest or advancement of the economic actor. Furthermore, the destination area was also selected for a variety of reasons and not simply because it provided the greatest opportunities or higher wages. Similarly, interviewees' migration decisions were not simply based on rational cost-benefit factors as in a human capital approach. Instead, their general mobility has been shown to have been stimulated by a range of factors.

Migration Decision- making.

The interview group experiences point to the need to examine a variety of different factors between individuals and households in the decision to migrate.

Even though there was a connection with employment in many of their moves, this cannot be simply understood as an economically motivated decision. Though primarily, we work in order to survive, there are other aspects of work time that influence our behaviour, including migration behaviour (Gallie, 1988). We are social as well as economic beings and the social aspect of our lives also influences migration decisions.

Interviewee differences in their migration decisions were shown to have occurred at various points in their lives and influenced by many factors. A significant factor in the group's mobility is that much of it took place when interviewees were younger and often single. This is a common feature of migration analysis in which migrants are universally shown more likely to be young (Boyce 1984, Kosinski 1981). Though, at the time of interview, group members were still of the age associated with migration, those who had made the most moves, now did not wish to move from their current area. Their ability to take migration decisions had changed. Earlier migration decisions were relatively straightforward. At that stage of their lives they had fewer responsibilities and consequently, they were less concerned with income level. Changing jobs was thus also less of an economic concern. This was illustrated in Geoffrey A's extract earlier in the chapter. He pointed to the differences in decision making in his life from when he was younger and single, with his current circumstances and married with two children.

However, youthfulness and 'footloose' behaviour did not necessarily mean the young were able to move where they wanted to and when they wanted to. Interviewees moves were determined by the ability to move within their employment sectors. Where this was not available, for example when unemployed, their young age acted as a pressure to move. Not having established a base or extensive social networks, some were compelled to return to their parents' homes, as was noted earlier in this chapter and in Chapter Four.

Migration decisions are often negotiated with others, taking many factors into consideration. In a household, migration decisions may have to consider, amongst other things, the employment of a partner, their preferences as to where they live and the perceived needs of any children in the household.

Stephen W. for example, found employment in London after graduating from university and for a time lived there. His partner, however, was employed north of Peterborough. As a compromise enabling them to stay together, they moved to Peterborough which allowed Stephen to commute to London each day. It should be noted too that Stephen had no desire to live in London, a factor assisting their decision making.

Individuals, are not able to move freely as economic approaches imply. Partners and household considerations may act as constraints on the ability to move. In the interview group, there were twenty individuals with partners some of whom had children to consider in their migration decisions.

Susan B. said she would have to consider both her children's and her husband's needs in any decision to migrate. She stressed it would be unlikely they would consider moving far from their current area. Her husband is self-employed and his business had been built on being known in the area and having a good reputation, all of which takes time to establish.

Tim D. as part of his profession's expected work experience and the nature of his profession (doctor) is constrained in his choice or ability to migrate by the profession's 'unwritten rules'. As part of achieving his final employment status he is compelled to work in a variety of hospital specialisms. This involves applying for and working one year or eighteen month contracts. He is therefore continually looking for employment and as a way of establishing his reputation, applies for work within a relatively small area from where he undertook his initial training (degree). This can lead to repeated migrations, but in Tim's case this has not. As part of a marital relationship he tends to spend block working periods at the hospital in which he is employed and other times commutes from his home in London.

Individuals, then are not free to move around as an automatic response to changing economic conditions, nor do they automatically migrate in the search of the greatest opportunities. Having moved to an area that is liked, people can become established there and are not continually seeking economic improvement. Within the interview group only one individual sought a future move, this was Tim D., living in London, which he hated. Others have already become attached to their area and would have difficulty in leaving.

The group's experiences and comments about migration decisions have been presented here to demonstrate the inadequacy of the economic actor

approach. There is a range of factors, often not related to employment, which form an important element of the individual's decision to migrate. These were shown to be more important than 'rational' economic accounting. Interviewees' migration decision making, was also shown to be negotiated between family/household members and the interests of others.

Migration Mechanisms

In addition, for the economic actor approach to be persuasive, the individual has to take account of labour market activity. The individual follows demand in their search for advancement to where there are more opportunities or higher wages. Drawing out some of the of the approach's inadequacies, Gallie comments,

"Mobility between jobs is assumed to be largely unproblematic and the market therefore offers equality of opportunity ... It was wholly unclear how assumptions such as these could be accommodated to the growing evidence about the nature of employment criteria, the importance of internal labour markets in firms, the limited nature of employees' knowledge about job rewards in other firms..."
(1988, p.17)

Whilst Gallie refers to general mobility, both job change within a locality as well as between localities, the criticisms of the approach are the same. There is not a single, uniform labour market and there is not equal access to labour markets.

Where migration is linked to employment, it is argued here that knowledge of opportunities in other areas is required before migration will take place. In other words, workers need access to information. In addition to this it will be shown that the migration decision is eased where assistance with the move is also provided.

According to Johnson et al (1974), labour markets relate to workers' particular occupational groups. Thus, an individual's ability to migrate is dependent upon their occupation. This is partly due to the fact that occupational groups have different access to information. From their experiences, the interview group have had information enabling them to move. However, their experiences are not uniform and reveal uneven access to information and assistance.

Information about employment opportunities is often distributed formally, through official institutions. These include employment agencies (public and private [2]), careers service; advertising in national and local newspapers, in journals. In the interview group, twenty-two (92%) have used formal methods of finding out about employment. This has involved 69% of all their moves as a search for employment in other areas. They used such sources as newspapers - national and local, trade journals, agencies, as the table below shows. One further person, who has not needed to use such methods so far

to obtain information about employment would use this method as part of search.

Table 3
Formal sources for employment

sources	number
agencies: public/private	10
advertising:	
journals	13
newspapers: local	10
national	4

In their search for employment individuals in the interview group used different journals and newspapers as sources of information, reflecting their different occupations. Some used national newspapers, others local newspapers, whilst others used both. The same information is not advertised in each. Journals too were predominantly specific to an individual's profession and available only to those in the profession. Some referred to private employment agencies as a source of information. Again opportunities are known only to those on the books. Whilst information is available, it is not freely accessible to all.

Similarly, those in occupations associated with local labour markets, have access to local information. This, Grieco argues is an advantage to those in that area. Yet only having local information, can restrict the ability to migrate for employment. There were six in the interview group, employed in clerical and manual occupations whose labour markets are usually

perceived as local and who have predominantly received information at the local level. Their migrations have taken place where either their employers are multi-site organisations, or their partners were in occupations with access to information networks elsewhere.

There are other ways in which information is distributed unequally. Where individuals' labour markets are national they may also have access to local information. This was available to those interviewees employed in teaching and in the health service. Although information was available to those outside of the area, it was not widely distributed. Interviewees would have to have already considered a move to a distant area to gain access to the information, as the examples below show.

Wendy S. obtained her first job in the area she trained using the local education authority's employment information bulletin. Not all the area job vacancies are advertised nationally. Also she has had a promotion without having to move.

Similarly Valerie McK moved to take up her first job as a teacher, has also used local information to obtain her promotions. If she wanted a change of school or further promotion she could do so without moving to another area.

The last two points made above are also associated with male and female employment in household migration decisions. Of particular concern is the effect access to employment information has on migration decisions and the implications of whether those decisions are individually made or as a

household. These issues are addressed in the following chapter.

Information can be supplied informally to selected individuals. Grieco has emphasised on the basis of her study, the importance of networks in obtaining employment information and providing the means to migrate. Within my interview group, eighteen interviewees had contacts in other areas who could provide information about job opportunities. Networks are important as sources of information providing a mechanism facilitating migration. Networks are important for those who are often more constrained in their ability to migrate as Grieco emphasised and also as an additional source for those with access to information nationally. It is dependent though on the size of networks, type of employment and experiences. For example:

Susan B. has employment contacts in Coventry, and within the her current area.

Carpn S. has widespread contacts in the civil service, through inter office contact, internal training, and conferences.

Lyn F/ Sue P. both have widespread contacts which were mainly established through education. These contacts could provide accommodation and general information about employment opportunities.

In contrast, Stephen W. has contacts in other areas. They could not provide information about employment oportunities as his labour market area is spatially small. He could however, change jobs within his labour market area, through information provided by employment contacts.

Interviewees are shown here to have differential access to information. This is as a result of the structure of their labour markets and is associated with their social networks, either as individuals or households.

The existence of employment contacts demonstrates that individuals are not passive recipients of employment information. However, employers are largely responsible for the distribution of employment information and this is not distributed perfectly. This was shown when examining the nature of interviewees' labour markets and how information was obtained. Employers also provide information internally, of opportunities in other areas (Savage, 1988). Opportunities internally available, advantage employees as compared to individuals outside the organisation, as on many occasions these opportunities are not advertised externally.

Within the interview group many had access to opportunities in various forms, which would enable them to migrate. Some interviewees were able to transfer, doing the same work, but in a different area. In other instances, employees were either notified of employment opportunities in other areas or had access to opportunities in other areas. They did not necessarily involve competing for a post.

The employment sectors in which this system operated in the group's experience were multi-plant firms and the civil service. Of particular significance is that this enabled occupational groups, not usually associated with mobility, to migrate.

Examples of how this has been experienced are described below.

Neil F. is a clerical officer in the civil service. He has moved on two occasions within the organisation. For the first move Neil saw an internal advertisement for work in the North of England. This advertisement was being shown in different offices throughout the country. For the second move, Neil decided he wanted to move to Glasgow. The procedure for this is to request a transfer to the area from the line manager. A report of the individual is sent to the proposed destination area. If there are vacancies then the transfer is agreed. It does not have to be in the same department, though in Neil's case it was. At his employment level as clerical officer there are many opportunities and it is therefore easier for him to select a destination area than for a more senior employee.

Caron S. is an executive officer in the civil service who wanted a move to be near her partner. Like Neil, she applied for a transfer but at this time there were no vacancies in the same department. Through her network of contacts within the organisation she successfully organised a number of other transfers to other cities for other employees enabling her to complete her own transfer. It should be said that this informal approach is disapproved of in the civil service and she was disciplined for doing this.

Within the civil service the availability of opportunities in other areas is suggested by the employer to be a 'perk'. However, it is a 'perk' which management control, as Caron's experience shows.

Martin T., a skilled manual worker in engineering has in recent years been employed in multi-site organisations. One firm he worked for advertised internally for skilled employees to work in the Middle East on different fixed term contracts. He successfully applied. His current firm has sites in different areas in Britain. Though information is not normally supplied about opportunities at other sites, Martin suggested he would seek information about opportunities if he needed to say in the case of redundancies.

A major difference between Martin T. and others who are shown to have the ability to move area within an employing organisation, is that they are encouraged to use information. Apart from his earlier opportunity, Martin would have to seek out this information.

On other occasions employment opportunities are wholly in the control of the employer, when employment is not advertised, either externally or internally. The employer can directly approach an individual to take up employment. This was described as 'poaching', by those in the group who had been approached in this way. Three interviewees had been in employment and had been approached by other employers to take up employment with them.

So far employers have been shown to distribute employment information in other areas, which is accessible to selected and thus advantaged groups of workers. For workers to take up opportunities in another area they also require accommodation. Once more employers, distribute information about and assistance with housing unevenly. Employers use housing information and assistance as an added attraction to a job. For example a CBI Employee Relocation Council report (1986) noted that some employers "...pay in the order of £50,000 or more for some moves." (p.2) It may also be necessary as the only way in which some individuals are able to take up employment. In either case housing information goes some way to reduce the risk and uncertainty of moving.

In the interview group housing information and assistance was more likely to stem from the employer than from other sources. Fourteen interviewees have received information and assistance from their employer, with five others having assistance from other sources, such as family and friends. A further three interviewees suggested their employers would provide housing assistance and information in the future.

The level of information and assistance provided by employers varied considerably.

Two people employed in the health service, Tim D. and Marion T. have been provided with hospital accommodation with each of their moves. For Tim this has occurred with each change of job and for him has been connected to his working week patterns. For professionals in the health service it is common practice to advertise jobs with inclusion of accommodation., and includes the provision of married quarters. Marion T. has also received relocation expenses. Marion commented that employers went out of their way to advertise the amount of housing assistance they would provide to attract workers.

In the civil service the degree of assistance varies with status and type of move. For example,

Neil F. applied to work in the north he was given substantial daily expenses for the first thirty days and for the rest of the time approximately half of this amount. No accommodation was provided, but a list of recommended accommodation was given. When he later made a request for a transfer to another area, doing similar work he did not receive any assistance by his employer. If the transfer had involved a promotion he would have received financial assistance.

The experience for teachers, who often move in national labour markets, is varied. The assistance given to them is dependent largely on the policy and

attitude of the local employing authority. Two teachers in the public sector had received no assistance and did not expect any. (One had experience of private sector teaching and here assistance was provided) Whereas another, Valerie McK moved to take up her first employment was given financial assistance and accommodation.

The provision of housing information and assistance cannot be wholly associated with higher status occupations, as examples in this chapter have shown. The important point however, is that employers use the provision as either a way of attracting particular workers or as part of their employment strategy to maintain workers.

Other sources of assistance

The ten who have not yet received information or assistance to migrate by their employers, have, apart from one person, other means available to them to enable migration. Assistance is provided from informal sources such as friends, family and collectively organised moves.

For example, Angela G. a dancer, said that this work tends to be seasonal involving migration, and employers do not provide accommodation. Usually, employees help each other, and find accommodation enabling them to be together.

Significantly, out of the whole interview group there is only one person, Sarah S whose employment search and access to employment information is only

local. Consequently Sarah does not have access to housing information or assistance. Her employment has tended to be in small private sector firms, with single plants. Moreover, Sarah's ability to move is dependent on her husband's employment and her job search would be conducted as part of this.

The analysis of interviewees' experience has shown that labour markets do not provide and distribute perfect information and assistance of employment and housing to facilitate migration. Their experiences reveal the uneven distribution of knowledge. On the one hand this leads to certain groups having greater access to opportunity and thus the means to facilitate migration. On the other hand this means that others will be disadvantaged.

Employers do not seek or need perfect knowledge of employment and thus housing to be distributed. The provision exists to meet employers' needs and demands for particular workers. Woods (1989) argued, in reference to his study, that employers' recruitment strategy altered to meet their needs at any one time. He found that when there was a shortage for certain craft skills, employers took steps to search over a much greater distance.

For workers, the availability of this kind of information and assistance is important if they are to contemplate migration. Without the distribution of information of opportunity, it is difficult to see how

individuals are able to choose a suitable destination, how they know they will obtain employment, and most importantly, what accommodation will be available. Too much is unknown.

Because of such uncertainty it is suggested here that in periods of economic crisis, when there is greater pressure on unemployed individuals to obtain employment, uncertainty and lack of information will restrict mobility. Such circumstances may also explain why individuals in employment are less likely to be as mobile. This has been put forward as a reason for the significantly reduced migration levels in 1980-1 compared with 1970-1 (Smith, 1989).

The interview group were all asked if they would be willing to move if they were unemployed [3]. Of the twenty-three, seventeen said they would be willing to consider moving if they were unemployed. The reasons the remaining six would not move were, "more likely to get another job in the area"; "consideration of partner" (4); with one interviewee's "home not where he works and consideration of partner". For these interviewees there are other more dominant considerations.

The interview group were then asked if they would move as an unemployed person. Only one person felt it was an issue she found difficult to speculate upon. Of this remaining group of twenty-two, nineteen said they would not move without having work to go to. Further, those three who would move, would move to where they

had a base. Here one would return to the area he had lived for last six years, It was also the area in which his partner lived. The other two have not yet established their own base and would return to their parents' home.

Their comments on their unwillingness to move included: 'too much to lose', 'you are also moving away from the family, no good being unhappy.' 'need a job to go to', 'cannot move without some means of support', 'you need somewhere to live', 'easier to sort something here', 'consider the children and their stability'.

Marion T. said she would be unable to move with her baby and there are other considerations, such as school. She would not move until one or both of them (the couple) had got a job.

Bob H. commented 'there wouldn't be any point in moving. This would mean spending money and you are not likely to get a job straight away. So you would be worse off.'

Lyn F. 'If I was going to move it would have to be because there was a job at the end of it. I would not move for the sake of moving. You put down roots in one place.'

}

In conclusion, this chapter has examined the role of employment in migration. It has been concerned to establish factors which influence the migration decision and in particular to see if support mechanisms were present to facilitate interviewees migration. It was argued that classical economic theory, based on the individual as economic actor does not adequately account for individual or household

migratory behaviour. The decision to migrate was influenced by a range of factors, of non-employment factors as well as reasons connected with employment.

Where migration was employment related support mechanisms were present. In an employment context, support mechanisms involved the provision of employment information and housing assistance. Individuals had access to employment information through their own networks, but employers were also shown to be important as distributors of employment information and housing assistance. Finally, it was argued that without the presence of support mechanism to facilitate migration, individuals were less likely to move.

The theme of employment and migration decisions forms part of the next chapter. In that chapter the focus is on marriage and migration. It considers migration as a gendered process.

footnotes

[1] Those who have made temporary moves were Lyn F, Rob A, and Matthew G. The first two returned to their parents' homes during periods of unemployment. The last person has in the past been a frequent job changer.

[2] a more recent development has been the use of specialist agencies as providing 'supply' side. Here the agency distributes their client's c.v. to relevant companies.

[3] one interviewee was not asked. The interview took place during Tim D. working time and he was called away.

MARRIAGE AND MIGRATION : A GENDERED PROCESS

A point emphasised in this thesis has been the significance of non-employment stimulated migration. In the study, marriage was an example of an alternative reason for moving. However, it was also clear from the last Chapter that being part of a marital relationship was also influential in employment. They were not discrete areas in migration decision making. Events in one social area may connect with changes in the other. This is supported by Courgeau who writes,

"Thus, the migration of an individual may involve a simultaneous change of employment... For example, the fact that someone marries will affect their future occupational and family circumstances."

(Courgeau, 1989, p.67)

In the interview group it was shown that whilst many interviewees moved primarily because of, or during, marriage, the move also often necessitated a change of employment. Of particular importance in this process was the greater propensity for women to move on account of their male partners.

The task in this chapter is to consider migration decisions on marriage and within marriage. The interview group's experiences are used to highlight the inter-relationship between marriage, employment and migration as a gendered process. Women and women's

employment are secondary to men and male employment. This is reflected in their migration decisions. Nevertheless, it is also clear from the interview data that women did not simply see themselves as secondary or passive followers of their male partners. Their work was important to them, both financially and as a career. In addition, any migration decisions would be negotiated decisions. The chapter also attempts to show the importance of marriage as an institution which can provide the support mechanism facilitating migration, in a way similar to education.

The chapter is taken in four sections. The first, clarifies what is meant by marriage in the study. It also provides an outline of the interview group's experiences of migration on marriage and within marriage, which point to the tendency of women to move, or their willingness, to move on account of men. The discussion, secondly, turns to sociological explanations for this apparently sequacious action. These locate women's actions in their dual roles, in the workplace and in the household. The third section establishes the extent to which the interview group's experiences concur with these accounts. Whilst experiences and attitudes can be understood in this context, women are shown not to be passive followers but active negotiators. In the final section the importance of marriage as an institution in the process of migration, is evaluated. It is argued that as other institutions provide support mechanisms for migration, so too can marriage.

"Marriage is the social event that traditionally heralds the start of a new family..." (K. Kiernan, 1989,p.27)

Marriage, as Kiernan suggests, is one of the significant events in the life cycle. It is the point at which two people establish a new family unit. Its importance for the study of migration is that it will usually involve the movement of one or both partners.

'Marriage' is the conventional way of establishing a new household and family, but it is increasingly common for couples to establish and sustain long-term relationships outside of, or prior to, formal marriage. There were, for example, in 1988, 348,000 marriages in England and Wales (OPCS). Increasingly though, men and women have elected to cohabit. A survey of women in The General Household Survey (GHS) for 1988, showed a significant increase in the number of women electing to cohabit. In 1979 11% of women between the ages of eighteen and forty, who had previously been single, were shown to be cohabiting. By 1988, this figure had risen to 20%. An even greater increase is shown with women who said they had lived with their husbands before their marriage, as illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

Percentage of married women who lived with husband prior to marriage.

<u>year</u>	<u>percent</u>
1972	16
1980	36
1987	53

Source Social Trends 1991 OPCS.

In their study of newly-wed marriage, Mansfield and Collard comment,

"Although cohabitation has commonly been regarded as the rejection of marriage, recent studies suggest that many currently cohabiting relationships are really informal marriages. Some couples who live together are at some point intending to marry, so for them it is simply a question of the personal commitment having preceded the public commitment of marriage. But there are other cohabiting couples who simply 'don't get round to marrying' or who indeed have chosen not to marry and for them the personal commitment is sufficient."

(Mansfield & Collard, 1988, p4)

The important point here, as the authors go on to say, is that what mainly distinguishes the two situations is that one involves a formalised procedure of marriage, rather than a different commitment between the two individuals. In both situations the couples have established a relationship and a commitment to live together.

In this thesis no distinction has been made between those respondents who elected to cohabit and those who formally married. In the interview group, the majority were in established relationships and living together. For some interviewees, this had been

their motive for leaving the area, whereas other relationships were established away from the area. Of particular note were those who formed relationships during their period of continued education.

However, even this definition raises certain problems for this study. There are circumstances, outside marriage, in which relationships are established and the couple have a long term commitment to each other, but do not live together. In such situations, the couple may experience similar difficulties in migration decision making as a couple who are living in the same house. One interviewee experienced this problem. Ian W. had described himself as single in the 'Mover Survey' and had subsequently moved to another area to take up new employment. During the interview, it emerged that he had established a relationship in the previous location and he continued to spend most of his weekends there. Ian and his partner had decided they wanted to live together, but their difficulty was finding a way to achieve this whilst they continued in the kinds of jobs in which they were currently employed [1].

It was noted earlier that marriage usually necessitates movement by one or both partners. Marriage related migration is commonly assumed to be of short distance, within or around a particular locality's administrative boundary (Hoinville 1983, Johnson et al 1974, Boyce 1984, Clark 1984). It is

not possible to confirm this with generally available official statistics, such as LFS, census data, and NHSCR which do not provide motives for moving.

Other survey data has linked marriage with short distance moves. The Harris and Clausen mobility study (1967) found that up to a distance of ten miles, more people moved for marriage (11.9%) than for employment (8.5%). Above this distance, employment was much more likely to be the reason. Between eleven and thirty miles, 9.7% of people had moved for marriage and almost 35% for employment. Finally, Nationwide Building Society records for 1981 showed that 77% of all their house purchasers moved a distance of up to 10 miles. Marriage, which accounted for 21% of all moves, was the most common reason for home purchase.

TABLE 2.

Main reason for moving amongst house purchasers. 1981

<u>Main reason for moving</u>	<u>%</u>
Getting married/recently married	20.7
Change in size of family	5.7
Change in income	6.4
Change in job/location of work	10.5
Present accommodation too small	18.7
To obtain more modern property	2.2
To obtain garage/garage space	1.0
To obtain better garden	1.6
To be nearer place of work	4.3
To be nearer to amenities	1.4
To be nearer to relations/friends	2.1
To move to better neighbourhood	6.2
Other	12.7

Source : Nationwide Building Society unpublished data.

TABLE 3.

Distance Moved Amongst House Purchasers. 1981

distance moved	all house purchase	job-link purchase
	%	%
<5miles	62.1	7.3
6-10	15.3	4.6
11-25	9.6	10.1
26-50	3.9	14.6
51-100	5.2	43.1

Source: Nationwide Building Society unpublished data.

The importance of demonstrating the association of marriage with migration is that the event is likely to have implications for the couple's decision making. The marriage will have involved some decision making affecting both individuals as to where they should live. It will therefore, also necessitate the migration of at least one of the couple. If, as in the Coventry study, the marriage is between young people, it would also be assumed that both are or are soon to become economically active. So that marriage and any potential move is likely to be influenced by, and have an influence on, their existing employment situation. Even in short-distance moves, important decisions will have had to be made, which will vary according to the individuals' circumstances. Factors like income, access to transport and family commitment, are all considerations influencing the distance at which a person may be able to live away from their place of employment before they either have to move or change employment.

Decision making in moves over a greater distance is likely to be more complex in attempting to find a satisfactory solution. For example, a move over a longer distance will be more likely to involve a break with friends and/or family and may necessitate a break with one of the couple's job.

In the 'mover' Survey there were nine respondents who moved on marriage. Of these, seven were women and two were men. The second phase interviews included six individuals who left the area on marriage; this figure included four women and two men. The distances they moved ranged from approximately twelve miles to approximately one hundred and thirty miles. In three cases, interviewees were moving to where partners had obtained employment (Sue W., Nick R., Caron S.) and in each of these cases the move resulted in new employment for the interviewee. One of these cases, Caron, in fact had returned temporarily to the Coventry area after completing her degree before moving on account of her partner. In a further case, the interviewee, Sue B. moved to her partner's locality. In the last two cases, Sarah S. and Martin T., both moved shorter distances and to a new area for both partners.

Migration and marriage are linked in other circumstances. Individuals may marry after leaving the area of origin and they may move as a couple within marriage. In these situations decisions have to be made about other aspects of their social lives.

In addition to the six moves on marriage outlined above, participants in the second phase interview group have made a number of moves within marriage, since leaving the Coventry area. In the group almost all were in relationships in which migration decisions had to be taken [2]. Significantly, fifteen cases of migration involved the interviewee moving on account of their partner. Of these cases, twelve were based on females moving on account of male partners, with only three males moving on account of their female partners.

Whilst moves have been made for a variety of reasons, of particular importance is the extent to which women move on account of men and how this can be understood. What factors have been important considerations in their decision making, for the individual and for the couple? This kind of information cannot readily be ascertained from statistics providing information about characteristics of marriage related migration. These do not provide an understanding of how those decisions are made and the implications decisions have for individuals as well as households. Explanations for these social actions tend to be found in sociological studies.

Explaining migration decisions

Many studies have demonstrated the propensity of women to move on account of their male partners, though not all specifically focus on the issue of migration.

Early studies, such as Bell's 'Middle Class Families' (1965), Pahl and Pahl's 'Managers and their Wives' (1971), Mann's 'Workers on the Move' (1973), demonstrate the extent to which the decision to migrate is 'male-centred.' Migration is likely to take place on account of the husband's career, usually involving a promotion (Bell p.38). In Mann's study of a factory relocation, female employees were less likely to move with the firm compared with male employees.

One problem with some of these early studies is the invisibility of women in them (Frankenberg, 1976). For example, Bell's study of middle class families focusses on husbands and their careers. We are not given any understanding of the wife's employment, her experiences, or any problems or conflicts about migration decisions there could be in the household. The Pahl and Pahl study (1971) does raise some of the difficulties and possible conflicts of interest arising in households when migration decisions have to be made. Morrison and Lichter (1988) comment that in the past, migration research has focussed on males, as it was assumed to be,

"...husband-centred, if not husband dominated; males initiated family moves for job related or other reasons and women were largely secondary migrants."

(p.162)

They assert that some economic models (human capital) often only describe the migratory experiences of males, thus ignoring the experience of married women. However,

they also stress that the situation has changed in that increasingly, married women participate in the labour force.

Though the focus of some studies has broadened, or shifted in some instances, to incorporate an analysis of women, the outcome remains the same. Women still follow their partners and their position is secondary. Bonney and Love (1989) examine aspects of the relationship between migration and marriage. In their study of immigration to Aberdeen they recorded that a significant number of married respondents, 69% of the one hundred and four married females interviewed, came to the Aberdeen locality because of their partner's job.

In Mansfield and Collard's (1988) study of newly-weds, a number of respondents were found to have moved on or close to their marriage. They also found that two-thirds of the wives had experienced some form of job change, half of which had taken place immediately after the wedding (p.142). It is not clear however, from the text, exactly what form of change took place or the extent to which this involved geographical mobility. They noted that even where the job and career were important to the woman, she still moved on account of her partner. In contrast fewer than a third of the husbands had changed job. Where this did occur, it was linked to a career move, either an internal promotion or to broaden employment experience, which was again linked to a career strategy. Extracts from interviews

show that wives moved, either to be with their husbands, or to where his job/promotion had taken them.

Though the women eventually found employment, some were underemployed and some were not happy with their employment situation. Nevertheless, the overriding concern was to be with their husband. Edgell, (1980) provides a further example of middle class families in which women actively see themselves as secondary to their husbands' careers, which has involved their migration.

Some have looked at the restrictive effect mens' careers may have on women's own employment career. Despite the increased participation of married women in the labour force, it is argued, particularly in relation to career and social mobility, that migration still remains 'male centred'. (see for example, Finch 1983, Crompton 1986, Mansfield & Collard 1988) Bonney and Love (1989) comment,

"...it has become almost axiomatic in much contemporary sociology that geographical mobility for husband's career reasons is disruptive of wives' labour market careers..."

(Bonney and Love, 1989, p.1)

Morrison and Lichter (1988), also locate migration as a mechanism for social mobility. They argue that women's employment is secondary to that of their husband's employment with the result being,

"Rather than a route to upward social mobility, family geographical mobility often has an adverse effect upon women's employment continuity and earnings."

(Morrison and Lichter, 1988, p.161)

Their conclusion is that family migration, may lead to the underemployment of women.

Migration decisions are also shown to have become more complex. Rapoport, et al (1971), Gowler and Legge (1982) demonstrate this in their research of dual career couples and the process of migration decision making. They consider some of the difficulties that couples have to face where the two individuals are pursuing a career, including problems of childcare. Of concern are firstly, "...difference between men's and women's life cycle..." (p.482, 1971) and geographical mobility. This, some writers have found, often results in households being geographically immobile.

What are the reasons given for women moving on account of their male partners? Although the focus and emphasis varies, the essential point is common: the inter-connectedness of women's position in the workplace and in the household. In the workplace women's pay tends to be lower than men's and they are often in lower status occupations, or in occupations which provide the '...back-up services...' to men in higher positions. (Crompton 1986). In the home, women tend to assume domestic responsibilities including childcare which, in turn, influences their workplace position. In this way the male job is assumed to be of greater importance, firstly, because men's employment pattern is more likely to be continuous and secondly, because their earnings are more likely to be higher, they assume the role of 'provider'. Marriage-related

migration will thus be based on the husband's needs or job.

According to Silverstone and Ward (1990), women follow a bimodal or discontinuous (Crompton 1986) career pattern. Their

"... life pattern is typically: school-training-work-withdrawal-return-retirement, as opposed to men's : school-training-work-retirement."

(Silverstone & Ward, 1990, p.9)

Women are said to assume a different role on marriage. Mansfield and Collard (1988), suggest that men and women adopt different roles when they marry. Women's actions are based on their assuming a domestic role, that is, the home is now important as is an awareness of their future role of mother. They argue, from the basis of their study, that marriage involves a reassessment of the woman's role as worker.

"It seemed that, for many women having to change jobs on marriage had sharpened up the picture they had of their futures, by clarifying the priorities according to work and home which have to be established by both married partners."..."It is clear that the work of the husband has priority over that of the wife."

(Mansfield and Collard, 1988, p144)

In contrast, men are concerned with their work and pay. They also see the need for security with their newly found responsibilities.

Women's domestic role, it is argued, overlaps with their workplace position. Mansfield and Collard argue that a dual labour market operates in which

married women's employment is secondary, that is, it tends to be in low paid, insecure, segmented low status employment. "Women's employment in our society is regarded as problematical, because sooner or later, most women become mothers." (p.139).

Mansfield and Collard also suggest that women take decisions on their future roles on marriage and act accordingly. This sometimes leads women to reduce their hours of paid work to fit in with the new roles. The effect of adopting domestic responsibilities in combination with low paid employment thus encourages women into a willingness to follow their husbands. They perceive their own work as secondary because of their future roles as mothers. Moreover, it is suggested they may also choose a 'career' on the basis of having a home and children (Mansfield & Collard 1988). Purcell (1988), however, notes the different employment experience of women who do not have children. For these women their progress or occupation experience is more like that of men (p.159-162).

Even where women follow careers it has been argued that their position is secondary to that of their partner. Another account which presents reasons explaining women's secondary role in migration is based in the pursuit of a career. Based in research on the 'service class', it is argued that migration is an essential feature of a career (Crompton with Sanderson, 1986). However, women are not amongst those who have access to migration on their own account, but

rather as followers, as they do not achieve the promotions necessary to pursue a career. The reasons for this are shown to be fourfold.

Firstly, women are largely employed in particular occupations, reflecting their gender-assigned roles, also they are commonly in the lower grades. The list of occupations includes, clerks, typists, secretaries, punch girls, nurses, teachers, occupational therapists, and basic-grade social workers.

Secondly, women often have a broken or discontinuous working pattern. This is usually in order to raise a family and assume domestic responsibility. In this role women also provide the essential support or back-up to their male 'service-class' careerist partners, by maintaining the home (cooking cleaning childcare).

Thirdly, Crompton's research demonstrated that women's secondary position is assumed on their entry to employment. Given the

"pressures on women to accept 'the family as their' most important area of activity, a lack of stimulus and/or opportunity at work may be countered psychologically by a woman's own definition of that role as 'secondary'. (p127)

She adds that marriage itself is important in reducing the occupational aspirations of women. Even where women held feminist attitudes to their position at work, they conflicted or were inconsistent with a more traditional attitude to their role in the family.

She found that,

"Young women...were extremely angry and articulate regarding their lack of promotion prospects compared to those of men, but their other comments indicated that they expected nevertheless to leave employment at the birth of their first child." (p.128, 1986a)

Fourthly, women do not have the necessary vocational post-entry qualifications (such as in banking and insurance). This is due to the fact that employment is discontinuous and because women are geographically immobile. Qualifications (credentials) and thus occupations are an important element in this argument. It is the nature of the qualifications gained that facilitates promotion. It is argued that qualifications are gendered. Many of the qualifications gained by females at school and post-school training lead to particular (gender segregated) employment. Moreover, it is argued that the credentials required by the occupations women cluster in, are for services for which there is much demand.

"The demand for these services is universal and the qualification is transportable. They are not dependent on a particular geographical location - a nurse, for example, would probably not have much difficulty finding a part-time job after she had moved with her bank manager husband. In short, such qualifications positively facilitate discontinuous careers and part-time working."

(Crompton and Sanderson, 1986, p.29)

This is contrasted with the more specific skills acquired by men as an "integral element in a continuous career." (p29)

It should be noted that Crompton dismisses the idea of 'dual career' families. Rather than two individuals pursuing careers, it is argued there are households in which the man has a career and the wife a job. This view was also implied in the Mansfield and Collard study in the relevant Chapter title " Working husbands and wives who work" (1988,p.138).

Essentially, these different accounts provide three substantial reasons why women tend to move on account of men. Firstly, the marriage event alters women and men's lives. On marriage women assume dual roles which are inter-related, in the workplace and in the household. Employment, which tends to be low paid, low status and insecure, becomes secondary to women's primary position in the household. Secondly, a combination of these factors reinforce women's perception of their own employment as secondary to their husband's employment. Men are assumed to make unilateral migration decisions as part of their career progression and also because they are acknowledged to have a primary role as economic provider. Thirdly, women are disadvantaged in relation to their own employment and careers as a consequence of male primacy in migration decisions. Household migration can thus lead to downward mobility for women. These three important claims will now be examined in relationship to the interview data collected for this study.

Interview group: experiences of household migration decision making.

The first point in the argument is that on marriage, men and women assume different and gendered responsibilities. Migration decisions are made on this basis, with the husband's job taking precedence over that of the wife's job. Many of the female interviewees were shown earlier to have moved on account of their male partners. From the group's views of factors influencing their migration decision, it was possible to evaluate how 'equitably' those decision would be made. (Rose and Felder, 1990)

Over half the group commented that the husband's needs or job would have greater consideration than the wife's needs or job. Thirteen interviewees consisting of nine females and four males made these comments in relation to migration decision making. In this group whilst three out of the four males were in full-time employment, with the fourth interviewee unemployed, female employment was more varied. Two of the women were not in employment, five were in part-time employment and two females were in full-time employment [3]. Within the group, nine interviewees had children and this included all four of the males.

These interviewees' experiences of, and attitudes towards employment and domestic responsibilities broadly followed the outline of Mansfield and Collard and Crompton. For example, they demonstrated an awareness of their different male and female, economic

and domestic roles as a way to partially explain why the husband's needs or job would be given greater consideration. For example,

Martin T. who had recently become a parent had also recently experienced unemployment. He expressed much concern about this because he was conscious of the new responsibility and commented on the need to earn a living for his wife and daughter.

Reasons given for why husbands' jobs were given greater consideration included, on the one hand, male earning power and also in some cases, their higher status. On the other hand, reasons also referred to the female role in childcare and the importance of childcare to them.

Susan B., a sister in a local hospital." In our family, my husband's work is most important for practical reasons. He earns more than I do. Though work is important, it has to fit around the family, the girls that's important."

Geoffrey A., sergeant in the army, but soon to be pensioned out." My partner would consider my job to be more important. The children need full-time consideration and my earnings are more."

Sue W.¹ part-time employment as clerk/sales assistant. She said, "My husband is the breadwinner... I think it's hard these days to keep a balance...I could give up my work and be a little wife and be a good mum... Then I would lose my independence again. So you can't win... but I've got Richard (son)..."

In contrast, Matthew G. has in the past been highly geographically mobile as a supermarket departmental manager. He has always considered his job to be more important because of income. Now he and his wife have a son, his attitude has altered somewhat. He still perceives his job to be key but sees the need to consider both his wife's needs and those of his son.

Some interviewees, in marriages without children, gave other reasons why the male partners would be given priority. For example, attachment to locality was one reason given,

Lyn F. and her partner live in his home city. Lyn commented, "...the compromise would more likely be mine, as I cannot imagine my partner moving away from the area."

or the effect of possessing different skills or credentials as described by Crompton was another reason.

Caron S. is employed as an EO in the civil service. Her partner is a graphic designer with the regional authority. Caron felt that a decision to migrate would be more likely to be on account of her partner. She suggested that she had general skills and would always be able to find suitable employment. Whereas Caron's husband has more specific skills.

Kate T. employed in clerical/reception work commented, "...decisions should be equal, but they are not. He is the breadwinner, because he earns more. He would tend to make the decision because he has specialist skills and it is harder for him to get a job. (Her ex-partner is a chef) If you want to be together, that's what happens."

The reasoning in migration decisions for this group are predominantly those either based on women's dual roles in the workplace and in the home, or because they have universal qualifications whilst their partners have specialist skills.

However, not all interviewees indicated their migration decisions would be inequitably made. The remaining interviewees said their migration decision would either include both partners' needs or they would prioritise the female partner's needs or job. Seven

interviewees, consisting of four males and seven females, linked both partners' needs and jobs. None of this group had children. With the exception of one, they were all in full-time employment. The other person was unemployed.

One of this group, Ian W., did not live with his partner. He was employed in a different area to his partner. He commented that they were trying to find a compromise solution, enabling them both to continue in the same occupational areas and share a home. This would either be work in the same city or in a possible commuting area.

Other comments about migration made by this group included,

Neil F., employed as AO in the civil service, had transferred to Glasgow to be with his partner. He said it was important for both of the couple to be able to find suitable employment in a new area. "Does she want to go there? It would be wrong to think I want to do it therefore we'll just do it. For any move the advantages would have to outweigh the disadvantages."

Wendy S., a teacher, said "...it is something we have discussed a lot. You have to be reasonable and it should suit both. Have to try and do best for both. It would be more difficult for my husband to get a job." Wendy's husband had been made redundant twice in recent years.

Sue P. said "In principle you would consider the effect on each individual, such as the journey to work. The person who would have the most to lose or difficulty has the final say... Considerations would include, is it worth it? opportunities for the other person, no loss of income, families, area."

There were also two cases where the female's job/needs were considered having priority. The decisions here were based on their current situation and short-term

futures. The two interviewees, both male, said their female partners were completing their education or training and this determined where they should live or whether they would migrate. Both interviewees were in employment and neither had children. Their main concern was to be with their partners. These interviewees had also discussed future plans including their intended migration. One couple had decided in which area they would move to. The other couple were uncertain. They were concerned not to compromise too much, but respect each other's wishes.

A significant number of the group's comments support the argument that in marriage, women are perceived as secondary in migration decision making. However, it was also clear from other interviewees' comments that this was not simply attributed to marriage. Other interviewees were shown to have a different attitude as to the relative importance of partners in migration decisions. Of importance was the stage or nature of the relationship. Those who were likely to see women as secondary were predominantly in households in which there were children. In contrast, in households without children, both partners were likely to be in full-time employment.

Mansfield and Collard and Crompton have argued that the marriage event alters women's position and their ability to make independent decisions. It has been clear from the interview group's experiences and attitudes that broader relationships are influential in migration decisions and not simply the couple in

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Mansfield and Collard and Crompton have argued that the marriage event alters women's position and their ability to make independent decisions. It has been clear from the interview group's experiences and attitudes that broader relationships are influential in migration decisions and not simply the couple in

marriage. For example, Carolyn A, not part of an established relationship, moved with her parents when they decided to leave the area. Additionally, even on marriage the location of parents has been shown to be an influential factor in many migration decisions. Whilst marriage further reduces independent migration decision making, it does not automatically lead to women adopting a secondary position in decision making.

A key factor for this was the presence of children. The important point is that migration decisions depended upon the household's particular circumstances.

Where decision making prioritised men's employment, this was a practical response to women's gendered position in employment and either through pressure or their preferred decision to assume responsibility for childcare (Silverstone and Ward, 1990). Their decisions are made as practical responses to their circumstances. In this respect, their behaviour is no different from those who consider both of the couple's needs/jobs. In both situations the couple take account of their circumstances at the time and their decision is likely to be a practical response to their assessment of all factors.

Valerie McK. for example, has gained promotions in her career and hopes for other promotion in the future. She believes that migration decision has to be based on both of the couple's employment. This was soon to be an issue for Valerie and her partner. They were both seeking jobs, he had just completed a course, whilst Valerie sought a job in a new school, preferably with a promotion. They decided that whoever obtained employment first, then the other would follow. Though this meant that Valerie was prepared to move on account of her partner, she did not think she would need to, adding that she did not think she would have any difficulty in obtaining the job she wanted because of her experience and qualifications.

A further simplification in Crompton and Mansfield and Collard's emphasis on women's secondary position is that it implies husbands are able to make unilateral migration decisions. It is suggested here that this is misleading, that women are not passive participants in migration. The image presented by Mansfield and Crompton is that on marriage a woman perceives her employment to be secondary to that of her partner's employment. In its most extreme, the woman becomes dependent on her husband and supportive to his career ambitions. Though male needs/jobs were shown in the interview group to be more likely to be given greater precedence over female jobs, any decision to migrate was a negotiated decision and not unilaterally made by the male partner. Further, that process of decision making could include a wide range of factors, important to the particular household.

The degree of unilateral or 'traditional' (Rose and Felder 1990) decision making in migration was rare amongst interviewees. The only example of an interviewee taking decisions unilaterally was Matthew G.

Matthew G, acknowledged in the past he had looked for and accepted jobs which involved migration, without discussing the matter with his partner.

More commonly, decisions taken in marriage would tend to be made between the two individuals. However, this need not mean that the decision will be an equitable one, but that the final decision will have been influenced by both partners.

Migration decisions reflected the different circumstances of households and involved a wide range of factors including often, both partners' employment. Interviewees also pointed to environment and family amongst the more important factors in any considered decision to move. Preferences about where people want to live, or are prepared to live, may override a new job opportunity. For example, there are areas people are unwilling to move to (Harris and Clausen 1967, Smith 1989). Interviewees in this study, frequently cited London and the South as areas providing employment opportunities and advancement for their skills, but to which they were unwilling to move. Helen J., whose husband has opportunities to move within his firm, said she and her husband would not be willing to move to the firm's northern branch. Sarah S. and Caron S. both enjoy the area in which they now live. They commented that an opportunity for either themselves or their partners would have to be financially extremely good before they would consider taking it. 'The offer you cannot refuse'.

These and other influential factors can constrain movement. For example, Bob H. partner's wish to be close to her family, has prevented in the past, any consideration of the household moving out of the area. Other interviewees commented on the influence of families, their location and access to them, as important in migration decisions.

The migration decision is thus shared between husband and wife, with the final decision being the outcome of weighing up of many factors. Such decision making, which looks at the advantages and disadvantages, is comparable to a cost-benefit approach, though there may be few economic factors in the analysis. It was clear from the interviews with the group that futures and migrations were part of general discussion between couples. It was also clear that women were not passive participants during the decision making process, as the examples below illustrate.

Sue W., who said her partner's job was more important than her own, said that she and her partner spent a long time weighing up the pros and cons of moving. Of particular importance was the area and the facilities it offered. Sue also said their decisions were shared but their difficulty was they had different personalities. Her partner would accept jobs without thinking, whereas she liked to think more carefully. She gave examples of where she had dissuaded him from taking jobs in other areas.

Marion T. is not in paid employment at the moment, commented that at one time jobs were dominant factors in their migration decisions. Though she described herself as 'old-fashioned' and would follow her husband if he sought a promotion, because he is now at a higher status than her and earns much more. A number of other factors would have to be considered. As they have a child and Marion is currently pregnant, they would have to consider schools, amenities, the area, and house prices. She added, "We could not just up and go, we have to consider the children...and my parents.

Geoffrey A. is currently in a different situation to other interviewees. As a member of the armed services he has little choice about the area in which he lives. Geoffrey commented that before their marriage the implications of the kind of job he does and being in the army had to be explained to his partner. That had to be accepted from the beginning. Geoffrey is due to leave the army soon and their migration decisions will be different. They are happy where they live, but important considerations for them include, as a priority a home and an income, the children and school, not being too far from his partner's family, partner's ability to work.

According to Crompton, the combination of women's assumed domestic role and the nature of their employment leads to them moving on account of their male partners. Consequently, women's own careers are disadvantaged by this. Migration is disruptive to their own career progress with the move resulting in women's underemployment or downward social mobility. Additionally, the migration has been facilitated by the woman's gendered occupation and its associated qualifications.

Migration on account of male employment may include a change of employment for the female.

However, the interview group experiences do not confirm this to be the likely outcome of the migration. Table 4 below shows that of the fifteen cases of partner-led migration, eleven were then in employment. Of the remaining four, two were either pregnant or had children and were not seeking paid employment, and the final two were unemployed.

Table 4

employment position of those moving on account of their partner

<u>employment position</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
employment	2	9
not wanting paid		
employment	0	2
unemployed	1	1

The migration event effected those in employment in different ways, as Table 5 below shows. Some were able to transfer, others changed jobs, yet another remained for at least several months, in the same job.

Table 5

effect of migration on employment

<u>effect</u>	<u>male</u>	<u>female</u>
transfer	1	2
change job	1	4
same job	0	2
did not participate		
in labour market	0	1

In most of these instances the move disrupted the woman's existing occupation, but with the exception of one case, this was not to the extent that individuals were underemployed after the move. In this one case, Geoffrey A's partner, the move resulted in both a change of occupation (from library assistant to bar

worker) and also a reduction of hours of employment (from full-time to part-time) [4].

Once the destination area was known, individuals took action to obtain similar employment, in status and hours, in the new area. One of those who changed job, Sue W., accepted a slightly different job as part of her move, which she said broadened her experience. Though Sue changed job, this was with the same organisation. The other two individuals transferred to the equivalent job in the new area.

Whilst migration is shown to involve a break in interviewees' employment and is thus disruptive, this did not necessarily lead to underemployment.

Susan B. lived and worked in the Coventry area as a nurse until she married. On her marriage she moved away to the area in which her husband lived and worked. For several months Susan commuted, which she hated, until she had obtained the equivalent position in the new area.

Sue P. met and married her partner whilst at university. After graduating they both found employment in different travel to work areas, which was acceptably commutable by both. Sue's partner became seriously ill and they eventually decided to move closer to his workplace. Sue, continued with her job even though it involved a longer journey to work.

Lyn F. met her partner whilst they were at Polytechnic. They were both unemployed after graduating and both went to stay temporarily with their respective parents. He found employment in his home town. This was in the general area (north) in which Lyn wanted to live and she went to join him. Eventually, she obtained employment in the civil service, which involved a substantial daily travel to work journey. She is unhappy about this but hopes to obtain a transfer of an equivalent status, closer to the area in which they now live.

Crompton also argues that the kinds of jobs women do and the areas in which women are employed facilitate migration. The skills involved with such jobs, commonly connected with supportive occupations are those which are universally required. It is therefore easier for women to accept the need to migrate as they are likely to find some employment, part-time in her example, in the new area. This, according to Crompton, is said to be positively disruptive to women's own careers.

A number of the interviewees were in such 'universal' occupations, including teaching, nursing, civil service, clerical/secretarial work. These occupations do facilitate migration and this partially explains why at least one interviewees entered their occupation.

One reason Caron S considered the civil service was that it offered the means to be mobile. As she and her partner had difficulty in obtaining employment, this would enable her to follow a career and live together.

Instead of seeing this as a negative characteristic of women's employment, it could be viewed as positive for migration decision making. Again, the outcome does not necessarily disadvantage women's career progression. It could be viewed as enabling both partners greater freedom to consider migration with the ability to continue in the same career, full-time and at the same level.

Amongst the interviewees, one partner (Geoffrey A's partner), is known to have both reduced hours and changed employment as a consequence of one of their moves. As Table 5 illustrates, other interviewees were able to transfer within existing occupations and grades, for example, those in the civil service. None of the interviewees has become underemployed as a result of migration. Where women have either reduced their hours of paid employment or are not in paid employment, this is connected with assumed domestic responsibility.

Where women are in full-time employment migration decisions are concerned with obtaining employment for both partners. Because of the nature of their employment, migration is facilitated. Conversely, if opportunities were not widely available, migration would be less likely to take place for either partner as noted by Rapoport et al (1980) and Morrison and Lichter (1988). This also seems to be implied in Crompton's argument, that it is the availability of employment opportunities, which enable migration to take place. Migration decision making would not be as easy if these occupations were not 'universal'.

An important difference between Crompton's approach and the interview group's experiences is that her concern is with 'top jobs', not simply with careers. The focus is on the difficulties women face in obtaining 'top jobs' and the advantages men have in obtaining those positions. In her research '... a

willingness to be geographically mobile, and long, unbroken work experience, were also extremely important factors affecting promotion.'(pp.131-132). It is possible, however, to have a career without wanting to either reach the top of a profession or to move as part of career progression. Most of the interview group did not appear to seek promotion, but were more concerned with having interesting work. Valerie Mck., Sue B., Wendy S. are all examples of women who gained promotions within their own localities, without having to move, and who were also able to move if they wished.

In addition a number of interviewees established their relationships whilst in higher education. Some have only a few year's employment experience, which may explain the importance of their careers to them and a concern to establish an interest in their work.

Finally, the importance attached to many interviewee's employment and attitudes in migration decision making, may also be attributable to social and economic change. This is reflected not only in women's increased participation in paid employment in the past ten to fifteen years (Brannen and Moss 1988) . but also in the increased focus on the position of women in society. Thus, Crompton (1986) notes that the assumption of domestic responsibility restricts womens' career progress, in her research there was a difference between younger women and older women in employment expectation and their qualifications [5].

To summarise this section, it has been argued that the tendency for women to move on account of men is based on their dual roles in the workplace and in the home. There was a difference in experience and attitude in migration decision making, between those with children and those without. Even though women were more likely to give priority to their partners this did not lead to women have a passive role in migration decisions. In addition to the employment of both partners, migration decisions were influenced by other factors. Finally, it was acknowledged that women's occupations (alongwith those of the males who moved for their female partners) facilitated migration. This should be viewed as positive in that it enables women employed in those occupations to continue without being disadvantaged.

Marriage as a migration facilitator.

One point the last section attempted to show was that migration decision making tended to be shared. In this final section it will be argued that marriage, as a shared relationship, can facilitate migration.

Earlier in the chapter, marriage was shown to be an important reason for moving, though this tended to be based on short distance moves. Frequently though, young, single people are associated with greater economic mobility. Having no ties and few responsibilities, it is easier for them to move around (Bonney 1988, Devis & Southworth 1984). Whilst young single people may be 'freer' to migrate they

nevertheless face risk and uncertainty in their moves. For a young person the risk is substantial because it often combines a break from dependence and familiarity into a situation which is unknown. Other institutions, such as educational establishments and the armed services, make provisions to overcome the emotional difficulties/risk involved in the move. Similarly, marriage, or shared relationships can do the same.

The initial indication of the importance of migration within marriage arose out of the 'stayer' interviews. One young respondent commented he found a job through the 'job club', which was in another area and involved moving to that area. He explained that he felt very isolated and lonely due to the newness of the work, the people and the the place. After a couple of months he decided to return to the Coventry area.

Some in the interview group moving as single persons also commented on the difficulties of moving for similar reasons. They were aware (probably through their experiences of leaving the area for education) of the importance of getting established in a new area. Migration can, initially, be a lonely isolating experience. Their strategy to reduce the difficulty has been to move into shared accommodation (shared house/flat), which provided an immediate introduction to the area.

Ian W. for example, found his last move particularly difficult. He did not know anyone in the new area and was lonely at first. His strategy was to look for shared housing as a way of getting established. Work was also important. He added that it would be easier if you moved with another person, but in his case, the fact his partner lived in another area added to the difficulty of becoming familiar with the place, as he spent most of his free time with her.

Valerie McK. recognised the need for a strategy to cope with the move after leaving college. In addition to the problems of obtaining furniture, Valerie also wanted to get to know people and the area. She initially shared a flat which she thought was the best way to achieve this.

These two examples highlight some of the difficulties connected with migration to a new area in which both interviewees had obtained employment.

The examples also point to the importance of finding ways of settling in to the new area. This includes becoming familiar with facilities and it also involves forming and extending networks. Interviewees mentioned a number of ways in which this could be achieved, which included the importance of their partner. Work was commonly cited as a way of establishing new friends and forming a social life.

Caron S. "I think work is more important and meeting people with shared interests is more important than say, neighbours."

Work occasionally may be more important than a partner for establishing a new social life.

Susan B. said she could not rely on her partner to get to know the area to which she moved, as he is a very quiet person. He was probably more reliant on her. The move was very difficult, particularly as she stayed in her existing job for several months after her move. Instead, she established a social life through friends made at her new job.

Children are also important in becoming familiar with a new area, establishing contacts and networks as well as friends.

Sue W." Children are a means of getting to know people. People in this street only began to talk to me when I had the baby."

Helen J. said "Part of getting to know an area can be achieved through children. Through them you establish networks, such as school and health care."

Angela G. moved with her husband and children. The decision to move was perceived as a risk as it was based on her husband becoming self-employed in different work. Not only did this require her husband working every day, but he also continued with his previous work as a musician in the evenings. Angela found the move very difficult. It was a break with familiar things in the old area; she rarely saw her husband in the new place. The way she became familiar was through her children and school.

Finally, individuals find ways of settling into a new area, usually through contacts at work or through contacts and the networks formed where there are children. Of greater importance, especially in the initial period following the move, are partners. Partners help overcome what has been shown to be a very lonely, isolating experience.

Marion T. said she felt isolated when she made her first move as a single person, but not as a couple. A partnership is important for getting established in an area.

Stephen W. situation is slightly different, but is becoming less so. He is employed a long way from where he lives. He has friends in the area in which he works and elsewhere, but has relied on his partner to become familiar with the area in which he lives. Although he has not felt isolated because of his working pattern, Stephen said his partner felt isolated initially, when they first bought their house as she moved first.

Sue P. "I would not (move) on my own, but as a couple, moving is easy, adjustment is easier. We spend much of our time at work, so when we are at home we spend all our time together."

Nick R. "It felt more secure going together, you rely on each other, I could take anything on. I would have felt more apprehensive if I'd gone on my own." (partner joined in here)

Caron S. said initially, she liked the idea of moving, "...it broadened your experience." She had not felt isolated on her last move (to join her partner). She later added, she would not move by herself, not without her partner. "As long as you move together, it is twice as easy, you're not isolated."

Wendy S. was slightly unsure. Being part of a relationship did make a difference in considering a move. "Though it can also have its drawbacks, if you have another person with you. It's also possibly harder to make friends, in that you tend to rely on the other person."

The aim of this chapter has been to show marriage as an important mechanism in enabling migration to take place. The literature often associates migration in marriage as gendered. This was confirmed with the interview group. However, the process of migration as described in the literature tends to become oversimplified. Writers present an image of women as passive followers of their male

partners. It has been argued here that migration decisions in marriage tend to reflect the particular employment and household circumstances at a particular time. Moreover, any decision to migrate tends to be negotiated and not necessarily based exclusively on male career aspirations. The occupations of some interviewees, predominantly women, has been shown to facilitate migration, as the universal nature of some jobs enables households to consider migration without disadvantaging women's careers. Finally, it was also shown that an important aspect of marriage, like education, is that it can facilitate migration. Being part of a relationship helps to overcome the 'risk' element in the migration process.

footnotes

[1] this interviewee will not be included in figures for 'married' but where relevant he will be included in the discussion of marriage related migration.

[2] there is only one person, Carolyn A. not in an established relationship. Though Carolyn moved from the Coventry area on account of parents' decision to move.

[3] the reference to employment includes female partners of interviewees not just female interviewees. The aim was to connect factors in their decision making.

[4] There are more unusual reasons explaining why her employment has been disrupted to the extent, her partner is an interviewee in the army.

[5] This may also be attributable to age as part of life cycle rather than a fundamental change in women's career expectation.

CONCLUSION

The research which formed the basis of this thesis attempted to address issues connected with migration in British society. It was concerned with the process of migration and asked: why do people migrate? What factors influence the decision to migrate? Finally, to what extent is the decision to migrate employment related? The survey group on whose experience the research was based consisted of a group of young people who had left the Coventry Travel to Work Area. The manner of selection and further methodology are described in detail in Chapter Two. Coventry is a locality that has recently experienced population decline and substantial job loss.

The research was conducted in two phases. The first phase aimed to draw out, for comparative purposes, the salient characteristics of one hundred and twelve 'stayers' and forty-seven 'movers'. This phase formed the basis of Chapter Three. Surveys of the two groups showed that both were from broadly similar backgrounds, in that their parents had few qualifications, and most were from working class families. The main difference in their family backgrounds was that 'movers' were more likely to have had a migrant parent. However, the sharpest difference

between the two groups lay in their own socio-economic characteristics and experiences. 'Movers' had significantly higher educational qualifications than 'stayers'. This contrast was also reflected in their occupations. Whilst 'movers' had little experience of employment or unemployment in the locality, over half of the 'stayers' experienced unemployment and one third had participated in Government training schemes. The 'movers' predominantly left the area for non-employment reasons, noticeably for education or to take up training. Significantly, migration was predominantly not connected with unemployment.

From the 'mover' group a sub-sample of twenty-four was selected for the second phase of the research process. Their selection was designed to ensure coverage of a range of motives for moving. Selection also had to take into account practical considerations, for example, those who had moved abroad were excluded.

Exploring the link between migrants and migrant families, Chapter Four considered whether families had facilitated the migration of their children. The Chapter focussed on the work of Grieco, who argues that family networks are central in obtaining employment, locally and more widely. Over distance, the presence of kin promotes migration and provides a support mechanism for migrants. The evidence in support of this argument is based on the dominance of informal job search methods. Central to this is the role of kin in

seeking and obtaining employment, a role often preferred and supported by employers. This is even more significant over distance as kin networks lead to chain migration, developing out of employer direct recruitment. The service is provided because of strong ties within kin relations.

In response to Grieco's argument this research has shown that interviewees tended to use a mixture of job search methods, varying with the length and type of employment. The balance between methods varied according to what was accessible to the searcher. Moreover, networks, not necessarily kin based, also took time to establish. In this study, kin did not assist migration by sponsoring information or employment, either locally or over distance.

It was argued that some families were unable to provide this kind of assistance. Substantial differences within families, in educational achievement and employment, excluded the possibility of access to, and knowledge of, relevant information. Networks providing information developed over time and were dependent on the nature of a person's labour market and the connected contacts which were established both locally and nationally.

As compared to Grieco's findings, interviewees' families were influential in migration in other, more diffuse, ways. Migration decisions were influenced by the desire for independence, even where there were close ties. Parents assisted their children by providing temporary accommodation. Families were also

shown to be factors in migration decisions, such as concern with parental age, health and the distance a move could entail. Finally, people formed their own families and family influences were shown to constrain migration.

Many interviewees left the area to enter higher education. The aim of Chapter Five was to show how and why education contributed to the promotion of migration and how it acted as a channel for young people to leave an area by providing a support mechanism. According to Musgrove, schools select the academically able and promote migration. However, interviewee experiences demonstrated that the way this was achieved was not straightforward since the introduction of comprehensive education. There was a difference between private and state education. Private schools had the clear aim of maximising achievement and entry to university. State schools were more complex and less likely to have such clear aims. Elites were established through streaming and encouragement by the individual teacher. This was reinforced by school students' own perceptions of themselves as 'achievers' or 'non-achievers'. Individuals' experience at school determined when they would leave and was not altered by external circumstances, such as an absence of local employment opportunities.

Parents were shown to provide limited assistance in their children's education and migration as they did not have the necessary knowledge of the system. Their role tended to be to give encouragement and support.

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Parents were shown to provide limited assistance in their children's education and migration as they did not have the necessary knowledge of the system. Their role tended to be to give encouragement and support.

Peers were more likely to be influential in promoting the expectation of migration. Friends, often selected through academic orientation, discussed ideas about courses and college facilities. However, migration was not mainly based on selecting the best course or college, rather selection tended to be based on non-academic criteria. Education provided the opportunity and support mechanisms that enabled the young person to break with home and be independent. The support mechanisms in education included, grants, accommodation, and similar grouping which reduce loneliness. This made the break easier and was, moreover, an acceptable way of leaving with their parents support. Finally, it was suggested that the education experience made subsequent moves easier.

Chapter Six considered employment and migration. Classical economic 'push-pull' theory assumes that individuals behave as economic actors and this also determines migratory behaviour. It was argued in this chapter that this approach does not take account of important issues connected with employment and migration.

The interview group's experiences pointed to the need to examine a variety of factors influencing individual and household migration decisions. Migration for non-employment reasons was shown to be important. Other migrations may involve a change in employment but this did not necessarily take place for economic 'push-pull' reasons. Moreover, migration decisions were frequently decided upon by more than one

person, such as in marriage.

For migration to take place the potential migrant or migrant household requires access to employment and accommodation. This was shown to be influenced by occupational group and the distribution of information and assistance. Whilst individuals had access to information through their networks, employers were largely responsible for the distribution of employment and accommodation assistance. This was shown to be distributed unevenly to particular occupational groups and their labour markets. Employers distribute information either to attract particular workers or to maintain existing workers. The effect of uneven distribution of information and assistance is to advantage some workers but disadvantages others. Without the presence of this kind of support individuals and households are less likely to move, even where circumstances may be 'push' circumstances.

Chapter Seven maintained a link to employment but was concerned with the inter-relationship between marriage, employment and migration decision making. This chapter showed how migration was a gendered process. Migration on and within marriage often involved important changes for at least one of the couple, especially where moves were over a greater distance. There was a greater tendency within the interview group for women to move on account of men.

Despite changes in gender relations which, is reflected in the emphasis in the literature, women continue to follow their partners, with their

employment perceived as secondary. It is argued that reasons for this are connected with women's dual position in the workplace and the home. Many interviewees confirmed this by prioritising their partner's employment. In these cases, decisions were responses to the lower earnings or status of women compared with their partners and concerned couples with children. Decisions tended to be made differently where there were no children.

The chapter also showed that decisions were not unilaterally made by males in their own career interests. Decisions were negotiated, taking into consideration a range of factors. It was also argued that migration did not necessarily disadvantage women's career position and that the ability to obtain comparable employment could be a consideration in the joint migration decision. Finally, it was suggested that marriage facilitated migration. Moving as a couple or family reduced the risk and uncertainty connected with movement and assisted in adjustment to the new area.

This thesis has attempted to show some of the ways in which migration decisions are taken and in different situations. Key to the movement of interviewees in the study was the presence of support mechanisms which facilitated their migration. Support mechanisms facilitate migration by reducing the risk and uncertainty of moving from one place to another.

Risk and uncertainty is applied in this study as a sociological concept and not simply in its economic

sense. In an economic context it is assumed that moves are made for advancement, with risk located in the extent of success in achieving this advancement. The risk is even greater where the individual moves with the expectation of advancement, rather than a secured position, for example a person who moves without employment.

Whilst recognising the risk associated with an economic calculation of migration, sociologically, the concept also takes account of other considerations individuals and households have in migration decisions. In particular, it can include the important but difficult task facing migrants in making the break with an area that is familiar, to move to another area that is initially unfamiliar and unknown. In this study this was shown in education-related moves when young people chose to move away to gain independence, yet acknowledged being fearful of the move and were initially homesick. Additionally, one interviewee, Geoffrey A., also commented on the difficulty of homesickness experienced by young recruits after leaving home to join the army. Similarly, many interviewees expressed a willingness to consider migration, but only with their partners, as this would make the move easier. Finally, where the migration decision involves families, the risk and uncertainty are more complex with the possible additional concerns of children. The degree of risk and uncertainty will vary between individuals and households, but will tend

to involve a combination of practical and emotional factors outlined above. A consequence of the difficulty for people is that migration is less likely to take place without the presence of a support mechanism to ease the move.

The need to facilitate migration is clearly recognised by some institutions. In education, students have an income, accommodation is available for new students to be together, and many social facilities are provided. In the health service, accommodation is provided for nurses and doctors including the period of their training and it is available to attract other occupational groups, such as technical staff. In employment many employers provide financial support and accommodation. This is not simply a financial perk but takes account of the practical and emotional difficulties connected with migration. Matthew G. for example commented on the level of support provided by his employers to young management trainees. They were found accommodation close to the training centre and each trainee was attached to a 'shop mother' whose role was pastoral in addition to providing training.

The findings from this research are not applicable only to the migrants from the Coventry area but apply nationally. The importance of support mechanisms may partially explain why some people, for example social classes III to V, are less likely to move. Rather than perceiving lack of movement as deriving from inherent personal characteristics it should be viewed as firstly reporting the lack of a support mechanism to

ease movement and secondly attachment to their existing place of residence. The longer people remain in one place, the more likely they are to become enmeshed in that place.

An important chapter in the thesis was the role of education in promoting the migration of young people. The chapter demonstrated the role and significance of the support mechanism enabling the migration of young people. For those young people it was an important but difficult move, involving the break with family, friends, and area. Moreover, it was a move supported by parents, a support forthcoming, partly because of the presence of this support mechanism. Having made this first move, subsequent moves (for example to take up employment) are made easier as individuals develop strategies to minimise the emotional element of risk and uncertainty. The educational experience could therefore be said to be an advantage to employers.

However, the converse may occur with the changes currently taking place in higher education. There are two changes that could influence the mobility of young people. Firstly, higher education institutions are expanding their student numbers and it will become increasingly difficult to provide or find sufficient accommodation for new students. Secondly, students' grants no longer provide a sufficient income to support the period of study and students are no longer eligible to claim state benefits. In order to survive the period of study they will rely more on bank overdrafts and/or the recently government introduced, loan scheme.

This is likely to reduce mobility with more students applying to local higher education establishments. This was the situation Richard Hoggart described earlier in the century, before mandatory grants enabled student mobility.

Consequently, this could prove to be a disadvantage to employers. If students study locally, they have not made the important break with family, friends, and area. This firstly, may result in a reluctance to leave the area following the educational period. Secondly, without the experience of making the break and the presence of support mechanisms, they do not have the experience to develop strategies to cope with the move. The onus then is on the employer to provide the support mechanism for movement to satisfactorily take place.

Other recent changes taking place in Britain may also reduce the ability or willingness to migrate. Many 'movers' in the research were employed in public sector occupations, such as education, health, utilities, armed services, and the civil service. In most of these employment areas changes have taken place involving either privatisation or substantial structural changes. The effect of these changes may be to reduce migration for example, through internal transfer. These changes may also reduce information networks. For example teachers were shown to have contacts in many areas and to use as a source of information, the Local Authority vacancy bulletins. Will teachers have to rely, in the future, on

advertisements placed in journals and national and/or local newspapers?

Finally, the research has shown that many factors contribute to the migration decision, whether or not they are employment related moves. This was shown to be the focus in cost-benefit/ human capital theory, which recognised the importance of non-employment factors in migration decisions. In the study, a common factor was a concern for 'quality of life'. Many 'Stayers' indicated this when thinking about moving away. It was commented upon by interviewees as an important influence in migration decisions. Interviewees tended not to suggest that this would be a distinct motive for moving, rather, that it complemented other factors contributing to migration decisions. It was not possible to evaluate exactly what 'quality of life' meant to interviewees, or how important it was in the group's migration decisions. It was not on my research agenda, but was a spontaneous response during interviews. However, an exploration of this nebulous, but prevalent concept could form part of the focus of future research.

Serial Number:

1

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

date of interview:

time interview start
finish

male

female

1. The questions in this first section ask about you family and current employment.

1.1 Age:

How old were you last birthday?

write in
box

1.2 Family/Marital status

(a) Are you married/partner?

☐

tick
one
box

or

are you single?
separated?
widowed?
divorced?

☐
☐
☐
☐

(b) Who else usually lives with you as part of your household? Can you tell me their relationship to you and their ages if under 18?

(If no-one else lives with you, write 'none' in the box →.)

Relationship to respondent	Age
respondent	

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1.3 Employment

Now I would like some details of your current employment.

(a) Are you employed .. [if not go to question 1.3g]

as self-employed?

full-time employee?

part-time employee?

<input type="checkbox"/>	tick
<input type="checkbox"/>	one
<input type="checkbox"/>	box

(b) Can you tell me what is your job title?

(c) Can you say roughly how many people are employed at your workplace?

<input type="text"/>

write
in box

(d) What is your firm's product or service?

(e) How many hours per week do you
usually work in this job?

4

write
in box

IF THIS SECTION HAS BEEN ANSWERED GO TO
QUESTION 2.1.

1.3

(g) Are you registered as unemployed?

☐

tick

or

not registered as unemployed but
looking for work?

☐

one

or

not looking for work at present?
[if you ticked this box go to question 1.3k]

☐

box

(h) Have you ever been employed?

☐

yes

☐

no

(i) If yes, what was your last job?

(j) Can you say roughly when that was?

IF THIS SECTION HAS BEEN ANSWERED GO TO QUESTION 2.1.

1.3

(k) If you are not either employed or unemployed can you say what is your situation?

(l) Have you ever been in employment?

☐

yes

☐

no

(m) If yes, can you tell me what was your last job?

(n) Can you say roughly when that was?

NOW GO TO QUESTION 2.1.

2. This next section is asking about your family and employment circumstances at the time you first left Coventry over the age of 16.

2.1 Age

What was your age when you first left Coventry over age 16?

write in
box

2.2 Family/Marital status

(a) At that time were you :

married/partner?

☐

tick

or

single?

☐

one

separated?

☐

box

divorced?

☐

widowed?

☐

only

(b) At that time did you have any children living with you?

☐

yes

☐

no

2.3. Employment

I want to ask you now about your employment situation at the time you first left Coventry.

(a) Were you employed? [if not, go to question 2.3f]

as self-employed?

☐

tick

full-time employee?

☐

one

part-time employee?

☐

box

(b) What was your job title?

(c) Who was your employer?

(d) What was the firm's product or service?

IF THIS SECTION HAS BEEN ANSWERED GO TO QUESTION 3.1

2.3.

(f) If you were not employed, were you:

registered unemployed?

☐

tick

not registered as unemployed
but looking for work?☐

one

not looking for work?
[if you ticked this box go to question 2.3k]☐

box

(g) Did you ever have employment in
Coventry after leaving school?☐

yes

☐

no

[if no, go to question 3.1]

(h) If yes, how many jobs did you have?

☐write in
box(i) What was the last job you did before
you first left Coventry?

(j) Can you say who was your employer?

IF THIS SECTION IS ANSWERED GO TO QUESTION 3.1.

2.3

(k) If you were not either employed or unemployed at the time you first left Coventry, can you say what you were doing?

(l) Were you ever in employment?

☐

yes

☐

no

(m) If yes, what was the last job you did before you left Coventry?

1

(n) Can you say when that was?

3. This section asks more questions about leaving Coventry.

3.1. Can you tell me the main reason you first left Coventry?

Education

☐

Got married and moved to be with partner

☐

Because of partner's job

☐

To be near relatives

☐

Housing reasons

☐

To look for another job

☐

To go to another job

☐

Stayed with existing employer, but job elsewhere

☐

Employer moved and went with firm

☐

other - please write in

☐

3.2

If the main reason you moved was
employment related did this involve
either:

promotion?

☐

yes

☐

no

or

better job?

☐

yes

☐

no

3.3

(a) Did you move from Coventry straight
to

☐

yes

☐

no

(b) If no, how many different places have
you lived since you left Coventry?

☐

write in
box

3.4

(a) Since you left Coventry how many
different jobs have you had?

write in
box

(b) Did this involve doing different
kinds of work?

yes

no

(c) Can you say briefly what these were?

4. Education

In this last section I would like to know
a little about your education experiences.

4.1 Did you attend a:

comprehensive school?

secondary modern?

grammar school ?

other type of school?

tick

a

box

please say here _____

4.2

(a) Did you leave school with any qualifications?

☐

yes

☐

no

(b) If yes, can you say briefly what they were?

4.3.

(a) Since leaving school have you gained any qualifications?

☐

yes

☐

no

(b) If yes, what are they? _____

Thankyou for your time and help in answering these questions
At some time in the next few months I may need to get in touch with some of the people I have interviewed to talk more about their work and their leaving Coventry. If you were chosen would you be willing to take part?

☐

yes

☐

no

Questionnaire 2. Remaining in the Coventry Area

Serial number: .

Name:

Address:

Telephone:

date of interview:
time interview start:
finish:

male

female

1. The questions in this first section ask about your family and current employment.

1.1. Age

How old were you last birthday?

1.2. Family/Marital status

(a) Are you married/partner?

or

are you single?

separated?

widowed?

divorced?

- (b) Who else usually lives with you as part of your household? Can you tell me their relationship to you and their ages if under 18?

relationship	age
dependent	

If no-one else lives with you write 'none' in the box.

1.3. Employment

Now I would like some details of your current employment.

(a) Are you employed...[if not go to question 1.4a]

as self-employed?

☐

full-time employee?

☐

part-time employee?

☐

(b) Can you tell me what is your job title?

(c) What is your firm's product or service?

(d) How many hours per week do you usually work in this job?

☐

(e) Can you say how long you have worked for this firm?

If this section has been answered go to question 2.1.

(p.6)

1.4.(a) Are you registered as unemployed?

☐

or

not registered as unemployed but looking for work?

☐

or

not looking for work at present?
[if you ticked this box go to question 1.5.a.]

☐

(b) have you ever been employed?

☐

yes

☐

no

(c) If no, go to question 3.1.a.

(d) If yes, what was your last job title?

(e) Can you say when that was?

If this section has been answered go to question 2.1.

1.5.(a) If you are not either employed or unemployed
can you say what is your situation?

(b) Have you ever been in employment?

☐

yes

☐

no

(c) If no, go to question 3.1.a.

(d) If yes, can you tell me what was your last job?

(e) Can you say when that was?

Now go to question 2.1.

2. This next section is asking about your employment experiences since you left school.

2.1. Age

Can you tell me how old you were when you left school?

2.2. Employment

(a) Did you go straight into employment after leaving school? [ignore any time taken for holidays immediately after leaving school]

<input type="checkbox"/>
yes
<input type="checkbox"/>
no

(b) if no, go to question 2.3.a.(p8)

(c) If yes, was this as...

self-employed?	<input type="checkbox"/>
full-time employee?	<input type="checkbox"/>
part-time employee?	<input type="checkbox"/>

(d) What was your job title?

(e) What was your firm's product or service?

(f) How long were you employed here?

Now go to question 2.5.a

(p10)

1

2.3.(a) If you were not in employment after leaving
school were you unemployed?

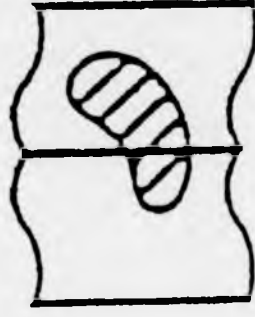
<input type="checkbox"/>
yes
<input type="checkbox"/>
no

(b) If yes, can you say how long you were
unemployed at this time?

Now go to question 2.5.a.

(p 10)

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2.4. If you were not in employment nor unemployed can
you say what you did at this time?

Turn to next page

2.5.(a) Have you changed employment since you left school?

☐
yes

☐
no

(b) If no, go to question 3.1.a.

(c) If yes, can you tell me how many jobs you have had?

(d) Did any of these employment changes involve doing different kinds of work?

☐
yes
☐
no

(e) If yes, explain briefly what they were?

(f) Have you always been employed in the Coventry Area?

☐
yes
☐
no

(g) If no, can you say where else you have been employed?

3. This section asks more questions connected with employment.

3.1.(a) Have you ever been unemployed?(either as registered unemployed, or not registered but looking for work?)

☐
yes
☐
no

(b) If no, go to question 3.2.a.

(c) If yes, how many times have you been unemployed?

(d) Can you say when you were unemployed, and who had been your previous employer at each time of unemployment?

3.2.(a) At any time since you left school have you considered moving away from the Coventry Area?

☐
yes
☐
no

(b) If yes, can you give the main reason you stayed in the Coventry Area, including when that was and what brought about the consideration?

3.3.(a) Did you move straight from your parents' home
to your current address?

or

Have you always lived with your parents?

☐

yes

☐

no

(b) If no, how many times have you moved home?

☐

(c) Have you ever moved for reasons related to
employment?

☐

yes

☐

no

4. Education

In this last section I would like to know a little about your education experiences.

4.1.(a) Did you attend a...

comprehensive school? ☐

secondary modern ? ☐

grammar school? ☐

some other type of school? ☐

(b) Did you leave school with any qualifications?

☐
yes

☐
no

(c) If yes, can you say what they were?

(d) Since leaving school have you gained any qualifications?

☐
Yes

☐
no

(e) If yes, what are they?

(f) Since leaving school have you taken part in any kind of training scheme?

☐

yes

☐

no

(g) If yes can you say what this has been?

Thankyou for your time and help in answering these questions. At some time in the next few months I may need to get in touch with some of the people I have interviewed to talk more about their work and living in Coventry. If you were chosen would you be willing to take part?

☐

yes

☐

no

APPENDIX (iii)

Summary of interview questions (phase two)

General introduction.

Reminder of statement of occupation as in survey, still the same? Ask about job, duties and organisation in which interviewee employed. (Reminder :- organisation - large/small, public sector/private sector, promotion)

School

Ask the type of school attended.

Who selected the school, and why.

School ethos (reminder:- encourage students, academic achievement, discipline, streaming).

For those who continued in education post-sixteen

Ask why they stayed on (reminder:- assumed, examination results, external circumstances, particular career intention)?

Think of leaving?

Discussed with anyone (reminder:- school teachers, parents, friends)?

During 'A' level any plans for future?

Leaving the area - education (for those who continue in education)

Where course studied?

Why this institution (only one accepted, particular course, reputation, area)?

Was area known before course commence? If yes, how?

Was selection of institution discussed with anyone (friends, parents, schoolteachers)?

Helpful? How?

Ever consider applying to study in the Coventry locality?

- if yes, why inclined? if no, why not stay (friends leaving, independence, leave the area, location of specific course)

Feelings vary about leaving their home and area for first time. Describe feelings at time.

What assistance provided by institution?

Any other assistance (advice, to make new friends)?

Anyone else give assistance (parents, friends)?

Any contacts in new area?

How family felt about leaving home?

What contact with family during course (visit/telephone)?

Maintained contact with family?

Employment

Those who left school and 16/18 and employment

Why leave school at this point, why this choice (attitude of school, attitude to school, results, assumed, employment opportunities, job, money, peers, family)

Discuss with anyone (parents, teachers, careers, friends)?

Helpful?

Ever consider staying at school? Explain?

Easy finding employment?

Ideas of work wanted?

Apply for jobs whilst at school?

Knowledge of organisation ? How?

Any training given?

Work wanted?

Long term plans about work (specific career, improvement, job with good pay)?

At this time think about leaving?

If yes, why, and why not leave?

Leaving the area

Was move to this area?

Why this/that area?

Any other reason?

Job to go to?

- if yes, describe new job (new employer, same occupation, different occupation same employer, promotion, transfer, take up employment)?

How find out about job (old firm, family, other networks, media, employer recruitment)? Probe

Discuss with anyone?

- if no, why that area? any knowledge of area? better opportunities there? contacts in new area?

Move alone or with others? who?

How find employment? Source? How obtain?

Why leave Coventry area (unemployment, lack of opportunities, bored, friends leaving, family,)?

Anyone help with move (family, friends)?
 How feel about leaving for somewhere new? Explore.
 Any difficulty getting established in new area?
 How approach? Accommodation? Social Activities?
 Friends?

Those who went to university.

Complete course what thoughts/ action on career occupation choice? Employment related to course? Given advice by institution? Discuss with anyone else? What were considerations?

Employment search local?

Move away from area after course completed?

- if no, why stay in area? how obtain employment?

- if yes, where to? why this area? knowledge of new area? job before you moved? move alone/with others? what job? what desired?

Any difficulty move (adjustment, accommodation, costs, assistance by employer, friends, other networks)?

If stay in area, like to move away (job and home)(promotion, money, change, knowledge of other area, friends, area preference, partner)?

Important considerations for changing job and home (cost, housing, opportunities, children, adjustment, parents)?

All.

Possible future moves, sources for employment in new area (media, friends, firm)?

Disadvantages in leaving area (friends, familiarity, social activity)?

Differences between first and subsequent moves (easier, other obstacles)?

Any factors with job that enable a move (availability of work locally/nationally, familiarity with institutions)?

If redundant consider move away?

What prevent/ make reluctant to move (as unemployed, cost, housing, friends, family, opportunities, children/education)?

How find job?

Ever consider moving back to Coventry?

General mobility and work. (adjust for non multi-moves)

Have any moves involve change of employment self/partner?

Why move, what encourage move (promotion, money, change job/area, redundancy, transfer, partner)?

Know new area?

How know of job (media, friends, internal to firm, family)?

Disadvantages with any moves (friends, familiarity, readjustment, social activity)

Important considerations when contemplating job elsewhere (money, area, employer assistance, know area, know firm, good amenities, housing, costs, children, partner)?

Marriage

How decide where couple move to (shared, job opportunity - whose, effect on partner, advantages/disadvantages)?

What important consideration for couple in decision making? What likely problems (both careers, equal decision, both have job to go to, earning potential, enforced move part of profession, children, domestic responsibilities, both happy to go, like the area)?

How establish selves in new area (social activities, work, rely on partner/family, partner's work)

Has moving ever been problem for either (isolated)?

Partner been important?

If partner suggest a move away, what response?

Areas willing to move to (within Britain, Europe, Further)?

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